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OF

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CHAPTER XVI.

Of the PELOPONNESIAN WAR, from the Application for PEACE from LACEDÆMON in the seventh Year, to the Conclusion of PEACE between LACEDÆMON and ATHENS in the tenth Year.

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Expedition under Nicias to the Corinthian Coast. Conclusion of the Corcyræan Sedition. Embassy from Persia to Lacedæmon. Lacedæmonian island of Cythera, and Æginetan Settlement at Thyrea, taken by the Athenians. Inhumanity of the Athenians.

IF, stopping for a moment at this point of Grecian history, we turn our view back to past transactions, as reported by the impartial pen of the cotemporary historian, we cannot but admire the able policy, the clear foresight, and the bold firmness of him who has by some writers, antient and modern, been traduced as the wanton author of this, in the end, unfortunate war, the all-accomplished Pericles; and if we take any interest in the fate of Athens, or of Greece, we cannot but regret that he was not yet living to conduct to a conclusion the scene of bloodshed, through the

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opportunity which now offered, and to exert his capacious mind toward the establishment of a political union, which might have given stability to peace through the country. What might have been done, had Pericles and his virtuous and venerable friend the Spartan king Archidamus met in such a crisis, we might amuse ourselves, perhaps not unprofitably, with imagining, were we to take into the consideration all the circumstances of the times, as they remain reported by Thucydides, and illumined with no inconsiderable collateral light, by other cotemporary and nearly cotemporary writers. After the general abolition of kingly power, so fair an opportunity certainly never occurred for carrying into effect the noble project, said to have been conceived, and even attempted by Pericles, of a federal union of the Greek nation, which might prevent hostility within itself, and afford means of united exertion against forein enemies. But the desire simply of keeping peace at home, perhaps never led to such a union among any people: some pressure of a forein power is wanting; some overbearing neighbor, or a general superiority of force in surrounding states. No such pressure at this time bore upon Greece. Persia had ceased to give alarm: Macedonia was not yet formidable: Carthage had small inducement to turn her views to a country, where war was so well understood, and riches so little abounded: the name of Rome was scarcely known. The little republics therefore of Lacedæmon and Athens, judging from experience of the past, for they were not always led by the capacious mind of a Pericles, vainly supposed themselves equal to resist any power ever likely to arise upon earth; an opinion indeed generally en-

Plut. vit. Peric.

tertained, as the writings of Plato and Aristotle prove, even among the ablest politicians of the time; and tho Xenophon was aware of their error, yet he was not aware of any good remedy for the weakness of the antient republics, and the defects of the political system of Greece. SECT. I.

Under the control of Cleon, the Athenian government was not likely to be distinguished for moderation; and the fortunate event of that adventurer's late presumptuous undertaking, increasing his favor with the people, would not lessen his own arrogance. The conduct of the war moreover, on the part of the Athenians, was so far rendered easy, by the decided superiority which their fleet possessed, and by the pledges in their hands, which secured them from invasion, that they might chuse their measures. Any very consistent plan, as in the present circumstances of their administration it was not very likely to be formed, so it was not absolutely necessary to success. Passion seems to have dictated their next undertaking: they would take revenge on the Corinthians, the first instigators of the war, and, upon all occasions, the most zealous actors in it. A fleet of eighty triremes was equipped, and a landforce imbarked, consisting of two thousand Athenian heavy-armed foot and two hundred horse, with the auxiliary troops of Miletus, Andrus, and Carystus. Nicias commanded. The armament, proceeding up the Saronic gulph, made the shore between Chersonesus and Rheitus, scarcely eight miles from Corinth. The Corinthians, apprized of its destination by intelligence from Argos, had already assembled the whole force of their Peloponnesian territory, except five hundred men absent on garrison duty in Ambracia and Leucadia, and they marched to oppose

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 42.

B. C. 425. Ol. 88. 4. P. W. 7. September.

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the expected debarkation. But Nicias, moving in the night unobserved, landed his troops near Chersonesus. The Corinthians, quickly informed by signals, hastened thither with half their forces, leaving the other half at Cenchreæ, for the security of the neighboring coast and country. A very obstinate action insued, in which, after various efforts, and some turns of fortune, the exertions of the Athenian horse decided the event of the day. The Corinthian general being killed, with two hundred and twelve heavy-armed, the rest of the army, distressed for want of cavalry to oppose the Athenian, retreated, but in good order, to some strong ground in its rear. The Athenians stripped the enemy's dead, and erected their trophy. The honor of victory thus was clearly theirs, but the advantage gained was otherwise small: they dared not await the junction of the forces from Cenchreæ with the defeated army; and the less, as all the elders and youths in Corinth were besides hastening to join it, and ere long the neighboring allies would come in. Nicias therefore reïmbarked his forces in such haste, that he left behind him two of his dead, who had not been immediately found. Apprehensive then of the clamor and popular ill-will to which this might give occasion, he sent a herald to the Corinthians to request the bodies: and thus, according to Grecian maxims, surrendered the honor of the trophy, and all claim to the glory of victory.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 43.

c. 44.

Thucyd. ibid. Plut. vit. Nic.

But the decided command of the sea, which the Athenians possessed, gave the means to distress their enemies greatly, with little risk to themselves. The antient ships of war were singularly commodious for operations upon a coast; moving any way in any wind, if not too fresh; and for debarkation

and reïmbarkation, wanting no intervention of boats. While the Corinthians were assembling all their forces in the neighborhood of Chersonesus, the Athenians moved to the coast beyond Cenchreæ, now unguarded; and debarking near Crommyon, plundered the adjacent country, incamped for the night, and reïmbarking early in the morning, were thus at once secure from the revenge of the Corinthian arms. They then proceeded to the Epidaurian coast, and seizing Methonë, a town on a small peninsula between Epidaurus and Trœzen, they raised a fortification across the isthmus. The fleet then returned home; but a garrison, left in Methonë, carried depredation, as opportunity offered, through the Trœzenian, Epidaurian, and Halian lands.

SECT. I.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 45.

The close of this summer brought the tragedy of the Corcyræan sedition to a conclusion. Eurymedon and Sophocles, according to their instructions, making Corcyra in their way from Pylus to Sicily, debarked their forces, and, with the Corcyræans of the city, stormed the fort on mount Istonë, held by the aristocratical Corcyræans; most of whom, nevertheless, escaped to a neighboring eminence, so difficult of approach that it was inexpugnable. Being however without means to subsist there, they were soon obliged to surrender; their auxiliaries to the discretion of the besieging army, and themselves to that of the Athenian people. Eurymedon and Sophocles, unwilling to give to others the triumph of leading their prisoners into Athens, and to lose the popular favor which attaches strongly in the moment, but is presently diverted by new objects, placed them in the adjacent little iland of Ptychia, as on their parole; with the condition, that if any one should attempt escape, the

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benefit of the capitulation should be forfeited for all. The atrociousness of what followed would be beyond belief, if it came attested by less authority than that of Thucydides[1]. The chiefs of the democratical Corcyræans feared that their fellowcitizens of superior rank, were the Athenian people to decree the doom, tho the Athenian people were not always remarkable for mercy, might yet escape death. They devised therefore a fraud to seduce them to their own destruction. Persons likely to find confidence were employed to infuse apprehension that the Athenian generals intended to deliver them to the Corcyræan people; offering at the same time to provide a vessel in which they might escape from what they so beyond all things abhorred. The prisoners gave into the snare, and were taken in the ship. The capitulation was undeniably broken, and the Athenian generals surrendered the wretched remains of the Corcyræan nobility, if we may use the term, to the pleasure of their people. These then resolved that their revenge should be completed, and that as far as might be consistent with public order, the utmost indulgence for that passion should be allowed to every individual among the soverein multitude. The prisoners were placed all in one large building. The people, in arms, formed a lane at the door. Twenty of their unfortunate adversaries, bound together, were brought out at a time. Men with scourges drove on any that hesitated, while the armed citizens

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 47.

[1] This was written before the transactions in France had beggared all ideäs formerly conceived, among the modern Europeän nations, on such subjects. The reader who has met with information of what passed at Lyons, after its surrender to the republican arms, will be struck with the similarity of some principal circumstances.

selected for revenge those to whom they bore any ill-will, cutting and stabbing as the passion of the moment excited. Sixty had been thus killed, when the rest received intimation of what had been passing. Calling then aloud to the Athenians to put them to death, if such was their pleasure, they declared they would neither go out of the building, nor permit any to come in. The people, not to encounter their despair, got upon the roof, and taking off the covering, thence in safety discharged missile weapons. The prisoners endevored at first to defend themselves; but when night came on, no symptom appearing of any relaxation in the animosity of their enemies, they determined to put the finishing stroke to their own misery: some strangled themselves with the cords of some beds which were in the place, some with strips of their own clothes, some used the weapons which had been discharged at them. When day broke, all were found dead. The corpses, heaped upon waggons, were carried out of the city, and disposed of without any of those funeral ceremonies which, among the Greeks, were held of such sacred importance. Eurymedon, after the completion of this abominable scene of treachery and cruelty, prosecuted his voyage for Sicily.

SECT. I.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 48.

The taking of Anactorium finished the successes of the Athenian arms, and the operations of the war, for the summer. Being attacked by the Athenian force from Naupactus, in conjunction with the Acarnanians, it was betrayed into their hands. The inhabitants, a Corinthian colony, underwent no severer fate than expulsion from their settlement, and the loss of all their property. Their houses and lands were occupied by a new colony drawn from the several towns of Acarnania.

c. 49.

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From the beginning of the war, intrigue had been carrying on by the Lacedæmonian government with the court of Persia; and that court, it appears, was not disposed to disdain negotiation with a little Grecian republic: but the distance, the difficulty and danger of communication, difference of manners, and contrariety in maxims of government, pride on both sides, and some apprehension, on that of Lacedæmon, of the superior weight of the Persian empire, had prevented any treaty from being brought to a conclusion. In the autumn following the affairs of Pylus and Corcyra, while an Athenian squadron, sent under the command of Aristeides, son of Archippus, to collect tribute, lay at Eion upon the Strymon, Artaphernes, a Persian, was apprehended there; and, his writings being seized and translated, it appeared that he was commissioned by the king of Persia, Artaxerxes, as his minister to Lacedæmon; that the purpose, or at least the pretence of his mission, was to bring to effect a treaty of alliance with that state; and the reason was found alledged, that, of several ministers who had passed from Lacedæmon into Persia, no two had carried the same proposals. Apparently, however, the principal object of the Persian court was to examine into the state of things in Greece; for Artaphernes was not to conclude any treaty, but only to conduct into Persia ministers from Lacedæmon, sufficiently authorized to treat for their commonwealth. Aristeides immediately forwarded this important prisoner to Athens. The Athenians had not hitherto solicited any alliance with Persia; yet they were anxious not to embroil themselves with that powerful empire, while they were ingaged in war with Peloponnesus. They would

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 50.

After 24 Sept. P. W. 7. Ol. 88. 4. B.C. 425.

not however permit the minister to proceed to Lacedæmon. He was conveyed to Ephesus, and ambassadors from the Athenian people were appointed to attend him to the Persian court. But, on their arrival in Ionia, news of the death of Artaxerxes met them, and such troubles followed in the empire, that without proceeding farther, they returned to Athens. SECT. 1.

Spring advancing, the Lacedæmonians, depressed by their misfortunes, remained inactive; but in Athens, while many were still desirous of peace, the more restless and ardent spirits prevailed, and it was determined to push success, and press the Peloponnesians on all sides. The iland of Cythera was a very important appendage of the Lacedæmonian dominion; the possession of it was particularly advantageous for securing the Laconian and Messenian coast against piratical depredation; and it was commodious for the purpose of such communication with the fertile regions of Africa, as the wants of Sparta might occasionally require, and its institutions would permit. The lands were all possessed by Lacedæmonians; the government was administered by a magistracy sent annually from Sparta; and a Spartan garrison was constantly kept there. Against this iland an armament of sixty triremes, with two thousand heavy-armed Athenian foot, a small body of horse, and a considerable force of auxiliary troops, sailed under the command of Nicias and Autocles. The garrison and inhabitants were quickly compelled to surrender, without any condition but for their lives only. B.C. 424. Ol. 89. 1. P. W. 8. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 53. c. 54.

The alarm which this event occasioned in Lacedæmon, and the measures taken in consequence, mark, not so much the want of force in the hands c. 55.

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of the Lacedæmonian government, as the want of ability to direct it. Descents upon the Lacedæmonian coast were expected, but where they would be attempted could not be foreseen. Their great legislator seems to have been well aware that a moving force may be more effectual for the protection of a country than any fortifications, since he forbad that Sparta itself should be fortified. In opposition to this maxim, they now divided their strength in forts and strong posts, through the length of their winding coast. The consequence was, that the Athenians could land anywhere without risk; they wasted the lands at pleasure; and having defeated the only small body of troops that rashly ventured to oppose them, they erected their trophy, and returned to Cythera. An Ionian trophy, in Laconia was a thing unknown before, since the establishment of the Dorians in the country; and tho the consequence of the defeat was otherwise trifling, the fame of the event made a strong impression through Greece, and the Lacedæmonians felt severely the injury to their reputation. The Athenians then sailing again from Cythera, after ravaging a part of the Epidaurian coast, proceeded to take their last revenge of the unfortunate Æginetans, now established at Thyrea, within the territory and under the immediate protection of Lacedæmon. Thyrea was situated, like most of the older maritime towns of Greece, not upon the shore, but about a mile from it, on rising ground, fitter for defence. But the Æginetans, accustomed to affluence, derived, not from their lands, but from their maritime commerce, still directed their views to the sea; and were at this time busied in constructing a fort on the shore, for the protection of their shipping.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 56.

SECT. I.

On discovering the Athenian fleet they hastily retired into Thyrea; which was however itself so deficiently fortified, that a small band of Lacedæmonians of the bordering country, who had been appointed by their government to assist in raising and protecting the works, refused to share in the danger of its defence. The Æginetans, nevertheless, resolved to attempt the protection of the little property remaining to them. But Nicias, landing his whole force, quickly overpowered them; and all, who did not fall in the assault, became prisoners at discretion, together with their Lacedæmonian governer, Tantalus, who had been wounded. Thyrea, being stripped of everything valuable, was burnt, and the armament returned, with the booty and prisoners, to Athens. A despotic multitude was then to decide the fate of that miserable remnant of a Grecian people, once declared by an oracle, and confessed by all Greece, the most meritorious of the Greek nation, for their actions in its common defence against the most formidable enemy that ever assailed it. What few individual tyrants could have thought of without horror, the Athenian people directed by a deliberate decree. The law indeed established by the Lacedæmonians, and sealed with the blood of the unfortunate Platæans, was but too closely followed, and the Æginetans were all executed. Tantalus was added to the number of living pledges, obtained at Sphacteria, for the security of Attica.

Another decision then waited the pleasure of the Athenian people, the fate of their new conquest of Cythera, and, particularly, that of some of the principal inhabitants, whom the generals had thought it unsafe to leave there. These were

CHAP. XVI.

distributed among the ilands of the Athenian dominion. The rest of the Cytherians, to whom the capitulation only assured their lives, were however left unmolested in their possessions; with a reserve only, from the whole iland, of four talents in yearly tribute to Athens.

SECTION II.

Effects of the Superiority gained by Athens in the War: Sedition of Megara: Distress of Lacedæmon: Movements in Thrace and Macedonia. Atrocious Conduct of the Lacedæmonian Government toward the Helots. Brasidas appointed to lead a Peloponnesian Army into Thrace: Lacedæmonian Interest secured at Megara.

B.C. 424. Ol. 89. 4. P. W. 8.

THE superiority now acquired by the Athenians in the war, began to appear decisive. Their fleets commanded the seas and the ilands, without a prospect of successful opposition from any quarter: their landforce was growing daily more formidable; while the Lacedæmonians, in a manner, imprisoned within Peloponnesus, and unable to defend even their own territory there, were yet more unable to extend protection to their still numerous allies beyond the peninsula. The extravagant views and wild presumption insuing among the Athenian people, which the vying flattery of interested orators contributed not a little to inflame, are marked by their own favorite poet, the admirable satirist of the age. 'A thousand cities,' says one, in his comedy of The Wasps, 'pay tribute to Athens. 'Now were each ordered to furnish subsistence for 'only twenty Athenians, twenty thousand of us 'might live in all ease and luxury, in a manner 'worthy of the dignity of the republic, and of the

Aristoph. Vesp. v. 705.

'trophy of Marathon.' In another comedy, The Birds, the extravagance of their petulant and presumptuous haughtiness is jeered: 'It is intolera- Aristoph. Av. v. 1,225.
'ble,' says one of them, 'that we, an imperial 'people, commanding many cities, should be treat-'ed with an air of superiority by the gods, who 'ought to know how to respect us as their betters.' And in the same piece, the inordinate craving of v. 1,023—1,050. their restless ambition, is ludicrously noted: report being spred of a new city founded in the air by the birds, the Athenians are represented as immediately earnest to send thither their superintendants and their decrees[2]. Indignation, hatred, animated and obstinate enmity, became of course mixed with the fear which the prevalence of their arms infused through a large portion of the Greek nation, and hence arose a fermentation which principally gave birth to the transactions now requiring attention.

SECT. II.

The circumstances of the little republic of Megara, the nearest neighbor to Athens, were peculiar. Tho the government was democratical, and the chiefs of the aristocratical party, with a large portion of their adherents, in exile, yet the antient animosity between Megara and Athens did not cease. Fear of the tyranny of the Athenian people kept even the democratical party connected with Lacedæmon. Meanwhile adversity inforcing moderation among the Lacedæmonians, against their usual practice, they allowed the Megarians to chuse their form of government, tho a Peloponnesian garrison, under a Lacedæmonian governor, held their port of Nisæa, a mile only Thucyd. l. 4. c. 66.

[2] The French, in the paroxysm of their democratical mania, seem to have borrowed from this antique joke their idea of sending commissioners to fraternize all nations.

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from the city, with which, as Athens with Peiræus, it had a fortified communication. At the same time the ilet of Minoa, taken, as we have seen, by Nicias, close upon the mouth of the harbor, was occupied by an Athenian garrison; and twice in every year it had been as a rule for the Athenian forces to overrun and ravage the Megarian territory. Yet the aristocratical exiles, having possessed themselves of Pegæ, the Megarian port on the Corinthian gulph, were enemies to those in the city, exceeding the Athenians in animosity almost as much as they were inferior in power: their watchfulness for every opportunity of plunder, waste, and slaughter, was incessantly harassing. The distress which this complicated pressure brought upon Megara, rendering the lower people dissatisfied with their leaders, imboldened the remaining friends of aristocracy. Depending upon countenance from Lacedæmon, they ventured to propose a composition with the exiles, and to urge it as of indispensable necessity, to prevent impending ruin. The leaders of the democratical party, finding this proposal grow popular, and fearing that the fall of their power, and perhaps the necessity of seeking safety in exile, might follow, negotiated secretly with the Athenian generals, Hippocrates son of Ariphron, and Demosthenes son of Alcisthenes. Terms being settled, it was proposed to put the Athenians in possession of the walls connecting the city with its port; and, communication between the Peloponnesian party in the former, and the Peloponnesian troops in the latter, being thus intercluded, both, it was hoped, must quickly fall.

Matters then being prepared, Hippocrates conducted a squadron by night to Minoa, while De-

mosthenes marched a sufficient landforce, and the long walls were mastered with little opposition. The Megarian conspirators had taken measures for introducing the Athenian army into the city; but suspicion among the Peloponnesian party produced precautions that disappointed their purpose. Intelligence of this being communicated to the Athenian generals, they resolved to direct their whole force immediately against Nisæa, which, they thought, might thus be taken before any assistance could arrive from Peloponnesus; and then Megara, a considerable party within its walls favoring them, would probably not hold long. The select force which they had first led from Athens was joined by all the troops that could be spared from the guard of the city, together with their usually attending slaves. A contravallation was immediately begun against Nisæa: those houses of the suburbs which lay conveniently for the purpose, formed a part of it; the others furnished materials for the rest; and the work was prosecuted with such diligence, that in two days it was nearly completed from the long walls to the sea. The garrison of Nisæa, totally without magazines, had received subsistence daily from Megara. Not only they were now deprived of this, but all communication being precluded, they supposed the city already in the power of the opposite party. Despairing therefore of being able to make any effectual resistance, they capitulated. The Athenian generals, required all the Lacedæmonians as prisoners at discretion: the others they agreed to ransom at a specified price.

SECT. II.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 67. After 18 July.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 69.

Lacedæmon, from the beginning of the war, far from having any man capable of balancing the extraordinary abilities of a Pericles in the supreme

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direction of affairs, had produced none to equal the science and activity of a Phormion or a Demosthenes in the conduct of a campain. At this time, as Thucydides assures us, a general and very unusual dejection prevailed in Sparta. A series of misfortune and defeat was what the Lacedæmonians had not for ages experienced. In the regular course of their singular government they were accustomed to overbear opposition; insomuch that it seemed as if great abilities in a leader were superfluous: wisdom, communicated by education and practice to every individual of the state, appeared as sufficient, as it was always ready, for public purposes upon all occasions. But a new business was now undertaken, for which their great legislator not only had not provided, but which his institutions strongly forbad. They had ingaged in a naval war, a complicated war, and unavoidably a protracted war. To conduct this, other abilities and other management were necessary, than had sufficed for the simple warfare of former ages. But, in seven campains, only one man among them had yet distinguished himself: he was still a young man; and the Spartan institutions were singularly unfavorable to eminence in youth. The good fortune however of Brasidas, in his gallant opposition to the first descent of the Athenians on the Messenian coast, did not follow him in his succeeding attempts; he had been foiled in all. But Brasidas could learn from misfortune, without being dejected by it. Of a temper as persevering, and a genius as fruitful as his understanding was strong and his courage clear, he alone among the Lacedæmonians was looking around for opportunities of new enterprize, which might relieve his country from the

evils which pressed it, from the humiliation into which it was fallen, and from the greater evils which threatened. SECT. II.

Some circumstances appeared favorable to his views, and particularly the alarm arising, on all sides, at the progress of the Athenian power; long since irresistible by sea, and now growing more and more formidable by land. The terror of it had induced the Sicilian Greeks to repress the animosities and accommodate the differences which had long prevailed between the several cities of their iland. Those who had been friends to Athens would no farther promote its power; those who had been enemies would no farther irritate its vengeance: the determination was general to maintain peace within the iland, and a neutrality with regard to the differences of the mother-country. But the revolted cities in Thrace had not equally the means of chusing their party. Expecting that the vengeance which had cut off the people of Ægina from the face of the earth, would next fall upon them, there was nothing which they were not ready to undertake in opposition to the power which gave them such apprehensions. Nor was the king of Macedonia easy in any confidence that he could place in his present alliance with the Athenian commonwealth, with which he had been so often at enmity: and while he was not without apprehension for the safety of what he already possessed, he was incited by views of ambition to which his connection with Athens was adverse; for he coveted the province of Lyncus, or Lyncestis, which the Athenian alliance in some degree guaranteed to its prince Arrhibæus. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 58. & seq. l. 4. c. 79.

These circumstances bringing the Macedonian monarch and the chiefs of the Chalcidian towns to a communication of counsels, they had carried on

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in common a secret negotiation at Lacedæmon. They desired a body of Peloponnesian troops, for which they offered to provide all supplies; and, with such assistance, they ingaged, not only to maintain the Peloponnesian interest in the revolted towns, but to extend the revolt. The Lacedæmonian government gladly received a proposal to draw the war from their doors, where it now pressed them, and employ the Athenians in the defence of their distant possessions. But means to send the desired succour were not obvious; for by sea they could neither oppose, nor easily evade the Athenian fleets; and by land the march was long and difficult; through the territory, in part, of uncertain friends, if not of declared enemies. Brasidas was the man to put himself forward for the conduct of an undertaking, which to timidity and inertness appeared impossible, and to injudicious boldness would have been reälly so.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 80.

But the Lacedæmonian administration was composed of men far different from Brasidas. Tho they anxiously desired to carry the war to a distance they feared to diminish their force at home; where their own slaves, objects of jealousy now more than ever, since Pylus was held by Messenians, caused them greater apprehensions than their forein enemies. A more nefarious measure than that to which they resorted for obviating the danger, is not recorded in history, nor easily to be imagined. Proclamation was made, that any Helots, who thought themselves capable of meriting freedom and the dignity of Lacedæmonian citizens, by their actions in arms, might present themselves to the magistracy, and a number should be selected, to be put upon the honorable trial. This was supposed a ready and a safe method for discovering which among them

l. 4. c. 80. & Diod. l. 12. c. 67.

would be most forward to revolt: for the same high spirit would incite to seek freedom and the rank of citizens, by deeds of danger, if opportunity offered, equally against Lacedæmon, as against the enemies of Lacedæmon. About two thousand were accordingly chosen; and, being crowned with chaplets, were marched in solemn procession around the temples. Thus, as they were given to expect, they were to receive freedom by being admitted to communicate in religious rites with the free. Soon after they disappeared, and the massacre was managed with such careful secresy, that in what manner any one of them perished was never known.

SECT. II.

After this shocking and dastardly precaution, the Spartan ministry less scrupled to send a part of their force on a forein expedition. Still however they would allow no more than seven hundred Lacedæmonians[3] for the hazardous attempt to march by land as far as Thrace. But the reputation of Brasidas for prudent and ingaging conduct among the allies of Lacedæmon, as well as for ability and activity in military command, had reached Chalcidicë; and the leading men, in the revolted towns, had solicited his appointment to the command of the armament intended for their support. Their solicitation met the wishes of Brasidas; and the Lacedæmonian

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 81.

[3] Αὐτῶν—which Rollin and some of the commentators have understood to mean Helots. But Smith, with his usual caution, translating literally and explaining nothing, must be understood to mean Lacedæmonians; and I think Thucydides meant to be so understood. In the 34th chapter of his fifth book we learn that the Helots who fought under Brasidas were presented with their freedom, but they were removed from Laconia, and established as a colony in Lepreum. But in the 67th chapter of the same book we find the Brasidian soldiers, Βρασίδειοι στρατιῶται, holding apparently a post of honor in the line of the Lacedæmonian army; and they are there distinguished from the Νεοδαμώδεις, the newly admitted citizens. They are mentioned again in the 71st, 72d, and 74th chapters.

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ministry did not refuse him the honor for which there seems to have been no competitor. He was to increase the scanty force assigned him, as he could, by interest, or by hire, among the Peloponnesian states.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 80.

c. 70. It happened that he was preparing in Sicyon and Corinth for his march northward, when he received information of the measures of the Athenians against Megara. Brasidas thought no business not his, in which he could serve his country. The allies of the immediate neighborhood felt as he did for the safety of Megara, and of the Peloponnesian garrison in Nisæa. In addition therefore to the troops collected for the Thracian expedition, two thousand seven hundred Corinthians, and a thousand Sicyonians and Phliasians, put themselves under his command; and a requisition was dispatched into Bœotia for the force of that country to meet him at Tripodiscus, a village of Megaris, situate under mount Geraneia. On his march, intelligence met him, that Nisæa was already taken; upon which, leaving his army at Tripodiscus, he hastened, in the night, with three hundred chosen men, to Megara and arrived under its walls, undiscovered by the Athe-

c. 71. nians. Meanwhile a singular kind of concord, between the factions in Megara, had been produced by mutual fear. The democratical chiefs apprehended, that the admission of a Lacedæmonian general would be immediately followed by the restoration of the exiles, and their own banishment; the aristocratical party not less feared, that the consequence of any alarm to the popular mind would be a prevailing resolution to admit the Athenians, which would produce their own inevitable ruin. A momentary compromise was therefore followed by a unanimous resolution not to admit Brasidas. Both

parties expected a battle between the Athenian and Peloponnesian armies; and, when the event of that was decided, they might chuse their measures, they thought, more safely. Brasidas therefore, after having in vain attempted to remove the apprehensions of both, withdrew to Tripodiscus. SECT. II.

Before the arrival of the messenger from Corinth, the Bœotians, in alarm for their allies of Megara, had been assembling their forces; and by daybreak Brasidas was joined at Tripodiscus by two thousand two hundred of their heavy-armed foot, with the very important addition of six hundred horse. The whole of his heavy-armed foot amounting thus to six thousand, a force superior to the regular troops of the Athenian army before Megara, he marched immediately for that place. The Bœotian horse presently put to flight the Athenian light troops, scattered over the plain. The Athenian cavalry advancing to protect them, a sharp action insued, in which the commander of the Bœotian horse was killed, with little advantage otherwise gained on either side. The measures of Brasidas mark the judicious commander, who knew when to refrain, as well as how to dare. It was notorious, that the Megarians watched the event to decide their measures. Brasidas therefore chose for his camp an advantageous situation, very near Megara, and waited there. The Athenian generals, having already carried their purpose in a great degree, deemed it utterly unadvisable, for what remained, to risk the army they commanded, under disadvantageous circumstances, against a superior force. As soon then as the Megarians of the oligarchal party were convinced that the Athenians would not venture a battle, they no longer hesitated to introduce Brasidas; upon which the Athe- Thucyd. l. 4. c. 72. c. 73. c. 74.

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nian generals, leaving a garrison in Nisæa, withdrew to Athens. Brasidas, after a very essential service to his country, and its allies, thus effected without hazard, except to his own person, returned to Corinth.

What followed, in Megara, seems to have been among the instances of depravity in Grecian manners, to which Thucydides has in general terms adverted, imputing it in some degree to the example set in the Corcyræan sedition. Those Megarians of the democratical party, who had been most forward in the Athenian interest, fearing apparently the concurrence of the enmity of Lacedæmon with that of their fellowcitizens, avoided worse consequences by a voluntary exile. Those who had been less violent in party-measures, thought they might then make a composition with the aristocratical party. A conference was accordingly held for the purpose. What the democratical leaders most feared was the return of those aristocratical chiefs who were in exile at Pegæ. Their restoration however was not to be obviated, but it was agreed that a complete amnesty for all past transactions should be solemnly sworn to by all. The exiles accepted the condition, and took the oath. They were presently raised to the principal offices of their little state. Taking then the opportunity of a general review of arms, for which the people of the Grecian towns were usually from time to time assembled, they apprehended a hundred of those whom they considered as having been most their enemies; preferred an accusation of treason against them before the assembled people; and, condemnation being pronounced, all were executed. The su-

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 82. l. 4. c. 74.

periority of the oligarchal party being thus rendered decisive, the supreme power in Megara, says Thucydides, remained long vested in very few hands. SECT. II.

SECTION III.

Sedition in Bœotia and Phocis: Attempts of the Athenians against Bœotia: Battle of Delium: Siege of Delium.

THE advantage gained by Athens in the war continued to extend its effects. The partizans of democracy in all the oligarchal republics, but with still more eagerness the numerous democratical exiles, were everywhere watching for opportunities to profit from the turn in the affairs of Greece. In this state of things a plan was concerted for a revolution in Bœotia. Ptœodorus, a Theban exile, was at the head of the business; some banished Orchomenians were among the most zealous and active in it; and a party in Phocis was prepared to join them on the first favorable occasion. The Orchomenians undertook to ingage mercenary troops in Peloponnesus: for persons either by principle or by circumstances disposed to favor democracy, or open to the persuasion of bribery, were to be found under all oligarchal governments. Ptœodorus meanwhile communicated with the Athenian generals Hippocrates and Demosthenes, and a project was formed for betraying Siphæ and Chæronæa into their hands; the former a small seaport of the Thespian territory on the Corinthian gulph; the other, an inland town of the Orchomenian territory, on the borders of Phocis. The Athenians were at the same time to seize and fortify Delium, a temple of Apollo

SECT. III.

B.C. 424. Ol. 89. 1. P. W. 8.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 76.

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in the Tanagræan district, near the coast over-against Eubœa; and the intention being that these attempts on distant points should take place on the same day, it was expected the distraction would prevent effectual opposition anywhere. If then the democratical party in Bœotia should not be imboldened everywhere immediately to rise, yet those posts being securely occupied, and inroads made from them as opportunity offered, with due incouragement given to the revolted and to those disposed to revolt, the whole of Bœotia would quickly be brought under democratical sway, and of course into the alliance and under the protection, which would be, in a great degree, to be under the dominion of Athens.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 77.

Such was the project: for the execution, while Hippocrates kept the force in Attica prepared, Demosthenes conducted a fleet of forty triremes around Peloponnesus to Naupactus; and, to prevent suspicion of the principal design, began operations against the enemies of the Athenian confederacy in the western provinces. On his arrival, he found Œniadæ, so long the thorn of Acarnania, already reduced by his allies of that province. Being joined by those allies, he marched against Salynthius, prince of Agraïs in Ætolia, who was quickly compelled to submit to his terms. After then reducing some hostile towns or clans of inferior note, and settling the affairs of those parts to his satisfaction, he returned to Naupactus, to prepare for the execution of the greater enterprize concerted at Athens.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 89. After 13th Octob.

In the autumn, having collected a considerable force of Acarnanians and other allies of the western provinces, he sailed for Siphæ; but on his arrival he had the mortification to find the place strongly

garrisoned and well provided, and the whole strength of Bœotia prepared to oppose him. It appeared afterward that not only the design had been betrayed to the enemy, but through mistake of the day on which it was to be executed, Hippocrates had not moved from Athens to make the expected diversion in the east of Bœotia. To attempt anything at Siphæ therefore appearing useless, Demosthenes, after an unsuccessful descent upon the Sicyonian coast, reconducted his armament to Naupactus. SECT. III. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 101.

The Bœotians, in giving security to Siphæ, seem not to have been aware of what was intended against the opposite side of their country. Hippocrates therefore, marching with the whole force of Attica, citizens, metics, and foreiners[4], to Delium, on what he conceived to be the appointed day, found nothing there to oppose him. The object was to fortify the post in all haste, so as to render it tenable by a garrison.. A ditch was therefore excavated, and a wall of earth raised, with wooden towers at intervals. The antient manner of fortification requiring height and perpendicularity, the wall was strengthened with piles, formed of the timbers of some neighboring houses, and faced with interwoven vine-branches, cut near the spot. The work was begun on the morning of the third day after the army marched c. 90.

4 —Ἀθηναίους πανδημεί, αὐτὲς, καὶ τὲς μετοίκους καὶ ξένων ὅσα παρῆσαν——Omni Atheniensium populo, civibus, incolis et peregrinis quotquot aderant. Duker.—*The whole force of Athens, as well citizens as sojourners, not excepting even the foreiners who chanced at that time to be there.* Smith. These translations are not satisfactory; and we find no assistance from notes. The precise distinction, however, between μέτοικος and ξένος, tho we should be glad to know what it was, is not particularly important here.

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from Athens; and being nearly finished by noon of the fifth, the general then ordered the army to move homeward, while he should give final directions to the garrison, for the disposition of their guards and the completion of the works. The irregulars and all the light-troops immediately pressed their march: the heavy-armed halted, a little more than a mile from the place, to wait for the general.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 91.

In consequence, meanwhile, of intelligence communicated through Bœotia, the forces of all the towns of the province had been assembled, under the eleven Bœotarcs, at Tanagra. There information came to them that the Athenian army had begun its march homeward; upon which a council of war was held, and the majority determined not to seek a battle. Pagondas, however, one of the two Theban Bœotarcs, whose turn of command it was for the day, dissatisfied with the determination of the council, addressed his eloquence to the troops, and so efficaciously, that he excited a general ardor for ingaging. Having thus provided for obedience to his orders, in opposition to his

c. 93.

collegues in office, tho it was already late in the day, he would not lose the opportunity, but immediately led the army against the Athenians. Where an intervening hill prevented them from seeing him, while the distance was small, he halted to form his order of battle; and then marching up the hill, rested upon the top.

c. 96.

Hippocrates was yet at Delium, when information was brought of the unexpected approach of the Bœotians. Leaving a body of three hundred horse, who attended him, to watch an opportunity for attacking the enemy in the rear, he proceeded himself with all speed to join the main body of

his army. When he arrived it was already formed for action. He rode along the line, making a short speech of incouragement; but scarcely had reached the center when the Bœotians moved down the hill, giving the shout of battle. Upon this he ordered immediately to advance, according to the usual practice of the age, it being esteemed disadvantageous to remain stationary and receive the onset. SECT. III.

The heavy foot on each side were about six thousand. The Bœotians had, besides, a thousand horse, five hundred targeteers, and above ten thousand light-armed. The Athenian light-armed, whose march, it appears, had been stopped in time, were more numerous, but less disciplined and worse appointed, the regular light-troops of the republic being mostly on forein service. The Thebans of the Bœotian army, if we may trust and can understand our copies of Thucydides, were formed no less than twenty-five deep; the other Bœotians variously, according to the practice of the several towns, or the opinions of the commanders. The Athenian army was disposed in files of eight men. The horse of both armies were placed in the wings. The extremes, however, of neither could come into action, being prevented by the intervention of deep water-gullies. The field was well disputed between the rest; in action so close, that they joined opposing shields; and where weapons could not avail against the compact arrangement of defensive armor, they endevored to break each other's line by force of pushing. With their right wing the Athenians obtained the advantage, so that the extremity of the enemy's left retreated toward their own right. Next in the Bœotian line to the troops which gave way, were the Thespians, Thucyd. l. 4. c. 94.

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whose left flank being thus exposed, they were surrounded, and suffered greatly. But in this evolution the conquerors fell into disorder, and, meeting in action, ingaged one another. Meanwhile Pagondas, with the Thebans, in the right of the Bœotian line, was gaining advantage against the Athenian left. Information reaching him of the distress of his own left, he sent two squadrons[5] of horse around the hill, who came unawares upon the victorious wing of the Athenians, while they were yet in the confusion which they had themselves created. Panic seized them, and they fled: the rest of their line, already severely pressed, finding themselves thus deserted, quickly joined in the flight, and the rout became complete: some made toward Delium, some to the port of Oropus, some to mount Parnes, others variously as hope of safety pointed the way.

A reïnforcement of Locrian troops joined the Bœotian army in the moment of victory. Being comparatively fresh, they undertook pursuit, together with the Bœotian cavalry; and the event would have been very fatal to the Athenians, if approaching night had not favored their escape. It was upon this occasion that the philosopher Socrates, who served among the Athenian infantry, pressed by the pursuing enemy, was in imminent danger of being put to the sword, when his pupil Alcibiades, coming up with a body of cavalry, gave such effectual protection, that Socrates, with those about him, made good their retreat[6]. Near a thou-

Plat. Laches, p. 181. t. 2. & Conviv. p. 221. t. 3. Plut. vit.

[5] Δύω Τέλη.

[6] Strabo relates that Socrates saved his pupil Xenophon in this battle. Athenæus, as is observed by Casaubon, in his note on the passage, has shown that this could not be, (Athen. l. 5. c. 15.) and he deduces his proof from Plato. Yet Barthelemi, in his Anacharsis, not only tells the story from Strabo, but has been so careless as to refer to Plato for authority for it. In the passage of Plato to which he refers) Conviv. p. 221. t. 3.) not a syllable is to be found to the purpose.

sand, however, of the Athenian heavy-armed fell, with Hippocrates, the commanding general, and a much greater number of the light-armed and irregulars. When pursuit had been pushed as far as circumstances would permit, Pagondas raised his trophy, collected the spoil, and, leaving a strong guard over the enemy's dead, retired with the main body of his army to Tanagra. SECT. III. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 101, c. 97.

Next day a herald was sent by the surviving commanders of the Athenian troops, to request the accustomed leave for burying the slain. On his way he met a Bœotian herald, who assured him that his labor would be vain, and that he would do best to accompany him back to the Athenian camp, whither he was going. The Athenian complied; and audience being given to the Bœotian herald by the principal officers, he represented, 'that the 'Athenians had violated the common law of the 'Greeks, by which it was established, that, in any 'invasion of each other's territories, no temple 'should be profaned: that in fortifying Delium, 'they had made the sacred precinct a habitation for 'men, and whatever men usually do in a profane 'place was done there; particularly the water, 'which the Bœotians had always held it unlawful 'for themselves to touch but for holy ablution[7], was 'drawn for all common uses: that the Bœotians 'therefore, in their own name and in that of the 'god, invoking the gods of the country and Apollo, 'warned them to quit the temple, and clear it of 'whatever belonged to them.' Amid the most serious political concerns, with the utmost disregard of all moral obligations, we find such matters of meer religious ceremony often deeply ingaging the

[7] Πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ χέρνιβι χρῆσθαι.

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attention of the Greeks. The Athenians, in return, sent their own herald to the Bœotian camp, who represented, 'that the Athenians neither had pro-
Thucyd. l. 4. c. 98. 'faned the temple nor would intentionally do so: 'that, by the common law of the Greeks, with the 'possession of territory the possession of temples 'always passed: that the Bœotians themselves, who 'had acquired their present country by conquest, 'had taken possession of the temples of other peo-'ple, which they had ever since held as their own: 'that if, in the necessity to which the Athenians 'were impelled by the unjust violence of the Bœo-'tians and their other enemies, to use extraordinary 'means for securing their country against invasion, 'they had disturbed the sacred fountain, they de-'pended upon the indulgence of the god for the 'transgression, if it was one, where no offence was 'intended: that on the contrary, the refusal of the 'Bœotians to restore the Athenian slain, was an im-'piety without excuse: finally, that the Athenians 'considered Delium as theirs by conquest, and 'would not evacuate it; but they nevertheless de-'manded that their dead should be restored, ac-'cording to the laws and customs of all the Greeks,
c. 99. 'transmitted from their forefathers.' The Bœotians appear to have felt the imputation of impiety and contravention of the institutions of their forefathers, for they endevored to obviate it by an evasion. They said, that, if Oropia, the district in which the battle was fought and Delium stood, was a Bœotian territory, the Athenians ought to quit what was not theirs, and then their dead should be restored; but if it was an Athenian territory, to ask permission of others for anything to be done there was superfluous. With this the negotiation ended, and the Bœotians prepared immediately to besiege Delium.

SECT. III.

We learn from the details of sieges remaining from Thucydides, that the Greeks of his age were not only very deficient in the art of attacking fortifications, but that their mechanics were defective, to a degree that we could not readily suppose of those who had carried the arts of masonry and sculpture so high. Fortunate for the people of the age, in the inefficacy of governments to give security to their subjects, that it was so, and that thus, those who could find subsistence within a fortification might generally withstand assault. The Bœotians were far from thinking the army, with which they had defeated the whole strength of Attica, sufficient for the reduction of a fort of earth and wood, constructed in three days, and hopeless of relief. Two thousand Corinthians, a body of Megarians, and part of the Peloponnesian garrison which had escaped from Nisæa, joined them after the battle. Still they thought themselves deficient in troops practised in the use of missile weapons, and they sent for some dartmen and slingers from the Malian bay. After all perhaps they would have been foiled, but for an engine invented for the occasion. A large tree, in the want of instruments for boring, was sawed in two, lengthways; and the parts, being excavated, were rejoined, so as to form a pipe, at one end of which, protected by iron plates, was suspended by chains a large cauldron, into which, from the end of the wooden pipe, a tube of iron projected. On the seventeenth day after the battle, the preparations were complete. The machine, being raised on wheels, was moved to that part of the fort where vine-branches and wood appeared to have been most used in the construction. The cauldron was then filled with sulphur, pitch, and burning charcoal; large bellows were applied

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 100.

Novem.

CHAP. XVI.

to the opposite end of the cylinder; and a fire was thus raised that rendered it impossible for any living being to remain in the adjoining part of the fort. During the confusion thus created, the besiegers, chusing their moment for assault, carried the place. A considerable part of the garrison nevertheless found opportunity for flight, and saved themselves by getting aboard an Athenian squadron which lay off the neighboring coast: some however were killed, and, what was most important, about two hundred were made prisoners. Presently after, but while the event was yet unknown at Athens, a herald arriving to demand again the bodies of the slain in the late battle, obtained them without difficulty.

SECTION IV.

March of Brasidas into Thrace. Transactions in Macedonia and Thrace.

B.C. 424. Ol. 89. 1. P. W. 8. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 78. July.

THESE transactions protracted the campain in Greece to a late season. Meanwhile Brasidas, having put Megara into a state of security, returned to Corinth, and while summer was not yet far advanced, had set forward on his difficult and hazardous march toward Thrace. He had collected a thousand heavy-armed Peloponnesians in addition to his seven hundred Lacedæmonians. As far as the new Lacedæmonian colony of the Trachinian Heracleia, he passed through friendly territories; but there he arrived on the border of a country, not indeed at declared enmity with Sparta, but allied to Athens; and across the Thessalian plains, in defiance of the Thessalian cavalry, with his small band,

which, including the light-armed and slaves, would scarcely exceed four thousand men, he could not attempt to force his way. The greatest part of Thessaly was nominally under democratical government, and the democratical party was zealous in the Athenian alliance; yet, in most of the towns, the interest of a few powerful men principally decided public measures. This facilitated negotiation, and Brasidas was not less able in negotiation than in arms. Employing sometimes the interest of the king of Macedonia, sometimes that of other allies, and never neglecting the moment of opportunity for gaining a step, he obtained free passage as far as the river Enipeus. There he found a body in arms, whose leaders declared their resolution to oppose his farther progress, and expressed, in reproaches to his Thessalian guides, their resentment at the permission and assistance so far given to an army of strangers passing through the country, unauthorized by the general consent of the Thessalian people. Fair words, discreetly used, nevertheless softened them; and, after no long treaty, Brasidas obtained unmolested passage. Through the remainder of Thessaly, dubiously disposed to him, but unprepared for immediate opposition, he made his way by forced marches till he reached Perrhæbia; among whose people, subjects of the Thessalians, he had provided, by previous negotiation, for a favorable reception. The difficult passage over mount Olympus, which was next to be undertaken, made the friendship of the Perrhæbians particularly important. Under their guidance he arrived with his force intire at Dium, on the northern side of Olympus, where he was within the dominion of his ally the king of Macedonia.

SECT. IV.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 79.

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Here the difficulties of his march ended, but difficulties of another kind arose. A common interest in opposing Athens had united the king of Macedonia with Lacedæmon, and with the allies of Lacedæmon in his neighborhood; but their interests were otherwise different, and their views, in some points, opposite. The principal object of Perdiccas was to subdue the province called Lyncus, or Lyncestis, among the mountains on the western frontier of Macedonia, and far from the Grecian colonies. This was a measure by no means calculated to promote the interest of Lacedæmon; which rather required that alliances should be extended on all sides, and that the confederacy should have no enemy but Athens. Eight years before, Perdiccas had been chosen, by the confederate Grecian army, to the secondary command of general of the cavalry, while a citizen of Corinth was appointed commander-in-chief. He seems to have been then little pleased with such a compliment, and apparently it was his purpose now to preclude the means for a repetition of it. Joining his forces with those of Brasidas, he assumed command, and directed the march of the combined army toward Lyncestis.

The prince of Lyncestis, Arrhibæus, little able to withstand the forces of Macedonia and Lacedæmon, had sent to Brasidas to request his mediation with Perdiccas. The Spartan general therefore not immediately refusing to march, stopped however on the Lyncestian frontier; and representing that the apprehension of so great a force, ready to fall upon his country, would probably induce the Lyncestian prince to a reasonable accommodation, he declared that for the Lacedæmonians, he judged it neither expedient nor just to proceed hostilely, till the trial had been made. Accordingly a negotiation was opened, and shortly a treaty was concluded, by

SECT. IV.

which Arrhibæus became numbered among the allies of Sparta. Perdiccas, unable to prevent this measure, was however highly dissatisfied; and he showed his resentment by declaring that, instead of furnishing, as heretofore, half the provisions for an army so little disposed to promote his interest, he would in future furnish a third only.

The accommodation nevertheless would be upon the whole satisfactory to Brasidas and his Grecian allies. The dominion of Arrhibæus preserved, might become a valuable weight in the balance against the growing power of so uncertain a friend as Perdiccas; and the arms of the confederacy would now of course be directed to the object which the confederate Greeks desired, the reduction of the power of Athens. Their first attempt was against Acanthus. Some of the principal men there had been always disposed to join with the Chalcidians in renouncing the Athenian dominion. The democratical party was zealous in the Athenian interest, but, being unable to oppose the approaching enemy in the field, they were in alarm for their property, and especially for their vintage, now ready to gather. Upon a knowlege of these circumstances measures were taken. They were summoned, not as enemies, but as those who ought to be friends, to join the confederacy. After some conciliatory negotiation, the Acanthians conceded so far as to agree that Brasidas should be admitted into the town alone; and allowed to declare his proposals before the general assembly.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 84. End of August, or beginn. of Sept.

Brasidas, for a Lacedæmonian, says Thucydides, was eloquent: he was besides politic; and, tho not strictly scrupulous of truth, he was highly liberal in his policy. He began with assuring the Acanthians, 'that the great object of the

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 85.

CHAP. XVI.

'Lacedæmonians in the war was to give liberty 'to Greece. It was therefore matter of wonder 'to him that the Acanthians did not at once re- 'ceive him joyfully; that they hesitated to join 'the confederacy; that they entertained an idea 'of opposing their own deliverance, and that of 'Greece, from Athenian subjection. Nothing in 'reason could hold them to such a purpose, but 'apprehension of the power of Athens; and how 'vain that apprehension was, he had himself had 'the good fortune to prove to the world, when, 'before the walls of Megara, the whole force of 'Athens feared to ingage that small band of 'Peloponnesians which he now commanded in 'Thrace.' This politic boast, tho totally false, for he commanded at Megara more than triple the force that he led into Thrace, nevertheless passed with the Acanthians, ill informed of transactions in Greece, and had considerable effect. He proceeded then to tell his audience, 'that he had 'received assurances from the principal magis- 'trates of Lacedæmon, confirmed by the most 'solemn oaths, that whatever cities, through ne- 'gotiation with him, might accede to the Pelo- 'ponnesian confederacy, should be subject to no 'claims of authority from the Lacedæmonians, 'but should be perfectly independent. From 'himself he assured them, that none need fear 'for person, property, or civil rights, on account 'of any political principles they had held, or any 'political conduct they had followed; for he was 'determined to support no faction, but, with his 'best power, to establish, wherever he might 'have influence, that equal liberty for all ranks, 'which formed the boast and the happiness of 'his own country. If, then, refusing conditions

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 85.

c. 87.

'not only perfectly equitable but highly advan- SECT. IV.
'tageous, they would persist in their connection
'with Athens, and, tho only by the tribute which
'they paid, promote the subjection of other Gre-
'cian states, he should think himself not only
'justified, but bound, to consider them as ene-
'mies, and to begin immediately the waste of
'their lands. He trusted however they would
'save him the necessity of a measure so oppo-
'site to his inclination, and would rather be zeal-
'ous in setting an example to the other cities
'of Thrace for the recovery of independency.'

The eloquence of Brasidas, powerfully seconded by his army at their gates, had its full effect upon the Acanthians; and the suffrages of the assembly being taken secretly, that none might be afterward individually criminated for the vote given, a majority was found for revolting from Athens. The city of Acanthus thus became a member of the Lacedæmonian confederacy; and before the end of the summer, the example was followed by the neighboring city of Stageirus.

Of the ten generals of the regular establishment of Athens, it should seem that two were usually appointed to the Thracian command. Eucles and Thucydides, the historian, son of Olorus, now held that station. Eucles commanded in Amphipolis: Thucydides was at the iland of Thasus, with the squadron of the station, consisting of only seven triremes. It was to be expected that in spring the Athenians would send powerful reinforcements. It behooved Brasidas, therefore, to make every use of opportunities yet open to him; and the severe season was rather favorable for some of the enterprizes which he meditated.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 108.

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Amphipolis was the most important place held by the Athenians in Thrace. It lay upon a noble river, which it commanded, and whose banks, with the neighboring hills, bore a growth scarcely exhaustible of excellent ship-timber. The country around was a rich plain, and the invironing mountains had mines of silver and gold: the port of Eion, at the mouth of the river, was but an appendage, yet a valuable appendage of Amphipolis. This advantageous spot had been colonized, first from Miletus by the unfortunate Aristagoras, and afterward from Athens by Cimon; whose colony, also unfortunate, was destroyed, as we have seen, by the Thracians. During the administration of Pericles, and thirteen years only, according to Diodorus, before the campain of Brasidas in Thrace, a new colony passed from Athens, under the conduct of Agnon, an Athenian of rank, and of very popular character. The place was already populous and florishing; but the inhabitants were a mixt multitude from various Grecian cities; some connected, by blood, or by habit and intercourse, with the revolted Chalcidians; some, by interest, with the king of Macedonia.

Ch. 12. s. 3. of this Hist.

Diodor. l. 12. c. 32.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 103.

c. 102. On these circumstances Brasidas founded a project for gaining Amphipolis to the Lacedæmonian confederacy. Communication was managed with some of the inhabitants, and a plan concerted with them. Collecting then all the force he could obtain from his allies, on a dark stormy evening, with sleet falling (the weather which he preferred for the attempt) he arrived at Aulon and Bromiscus, where the waters of the lake of Bolbë discharge themselves into the sea; and, halting there only while his army took refreshment, he proceeded in the night to Argilus. The people of that little

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Thucyd. l. 4. c. 103.

town, always disaffected to Athens, were prepared to receive him. Its territory was divided from the Amphipolitan only by the river Strymon. Near Argilus was a bridge, which, as an important pass, was protected by a constant guard: but no attempt being at present apprehended, the guard was small. Under the guidance of the Argilians, and favored by the storm, Brasidas surprized the guard. Becoming thus master of the bridge, the Amphipolitan territory was open to him. Extreme alarm and confusion immediately insued among the Amphipolitans; who, as a heterogeneous people, collected from various parts, were almost wholly without confidence each man in his neighbor; and if, instead of plundering the country, Brasidas had led his forces directly against the town, he would have become master of it, probably as soon as he arrived at the gates. This, however, might perhaps be more than his authority could effect. After gratifying his troops, therefore, with the spoil of the country, he waited in expectation that, from so populous a place, with an Athenian general commanding, something would be attempted against him; and in any action in open field he promised himself success, which would not fail to incourage his friends in the town, and promote his measures.

SECT. IV.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 104.

The inactivity of Eucles disappointed Brasidas. No movement was made from the town; and it was to be apprehended that the arrival of Thucydides, with the squadron from Thasus, would utterly defeat the enterprize: for beside the force he would bring, having large property and antient family connections in the neighborhood, Thucydides had great influence among both Greeks and Thracians: and his presence would not only confirm the Amphipolitans in the Athenian interest,

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but assist much toward the collection of a powerful landforce for opposing the Peloponnesians. Measures that might be quickly decisive were therefore necessary to Brasidas. Thucydides imputes expressly no blame to his collegue; but the conduct of Eucles appears evidently to have been deficient either in judgement or in vigor, or rather in both. Brasidas found means to send assurance into Amphipolis, 'that it was not his purpose to deprive 'any person in the city, not even the Athenians, 'of either property or civil rights: that all the in-'habitants might chuse whether they would re-'main upon the footing of free citizens, or depart 'with their effects; only, if the latter was their 'choice, they must go within five days.' This proposal had immediate efficacy: the Athenians, a small proportion only of the inhabitants, little confident, evidently, in their general, and highly diffident of their fellow-colonists, had supposed their persons, their properties, and their families, in the most imminent danger of the worst that could befall them: the terms were incomparably more favorable than, from the common practice and policy of Grecian commanders, was to be expected; and in their present circumstances, hopeless of timely succour, they could hardly wish for more. Such being the sentiments of the Athenians, the other multitude were still readier to rejoice in the offer, generous as it appeared, of the Spartan general. The promoters of the revolt, therefore, boldly stepped forward; the interposition of Eucles was disregarded; the people in assembly decreed that the terms should be accepted; and Brasidas, with his forces, was immediately admitted into the city. That active officer, then, without a moment's loss of time, proceeded to take measures for

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 105.

c. 106.

possessing himself of Eion, distant about three miles, and so excluding the Athenian fleet from the river. But late in the evening of the same day on which Amphipolis surrendered, Thucydides, having made unexpected haste from Thasus, entered the harbor with his squadron. Eion was thus secured, but Amphipolis was beyond the power of Thucydides to recover. SECT. IV.

To the loss of that city from the Athenian dominion, we seem principally to owe our best information concerning the history of the times with which we are ingaged, and almost our only means for any accurate acquaintance with the Grecian republics, in that period in which their history is most interesting. The news of the successes of Brasidas in Thrace, but particularly of the surrender of Amphipolis, made great impression at Athens; and the more, as the public mind was sore with the recent calamity at Delium, the greatest experienced from the hands of the enemy in the course of the war. Those distant dependencies, from whose wealth the republic principally derived its power, had been esteemed hitherto secure under the guard of the Athenian navy, with which no potentate upon earth could contend: but now, through the adventurous and able conduct of Brasidas, they were laid open to the superior landforce of the Peloponnesians; which, if the Thessalians should not oppose, might be poured in upon them to any amount. Dwelling upon these considerations, and irritated more than instructed by misfortune, the Athenian people vented against their best friends that revenge which they knew not how to vent against their enemies. Thucydides, whose peculiar interest and influence in Thrace gave him singular means to serve them Thucyd. l. 4. c. 108. l. 5. c. 26.

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there, was deprived of his command, and banished from Attica for twenty years. Precluded thus from active life in the service of his country, it was the gratification of his leisure to compose that history which has been the delight and admiration of all posterity. The affairs of Athens continued to be known to him through his numerous friends in high situations there. His banishment, as himself informs us, led to information concerning those of the Peloponnesians, which he could scarcely otherwise have acquired.

Brasidas then, thus successful through the inability or remissness of Eucles at Amphipolis, and disappointed through the activity of Thucydides at Eion, had however done, with a very small force, very important services for his country. His sedulity to prosecute them was unremitting, and he had now greatly increased his means. The reputation of his unassuming and conciliating behaviour toward the allies whom he had gained, was communicated through the other Grecian cities in Thrace. His character passed for a specimen of the character of his fellowcountrymen; and his constant declaration, that the great purpose of his commission was to give perfect freedom and independency to all Grecian cities, received such support from the wise liberality of his conduct, that it found general credit. Perdiccas, a prince of much policy and little honor, forgetting his resentment, was desirous of profiting from his connection with such an ally as Brasidas, and condescended to visit him for the purpose of concerting measures for prosecuting the common interest of the confederacy. Meanwhile the fame of the late defeat of the Athenians in Bœotia now spred over the country, assisted to promote the disposition to revolt: it tended to establish the credit of the

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 108.

politic tho untrue assertion of Brasidas, that, with only the small force of Peloponnesians which he commanded in Thrace, he had defied the whole strength of Athens under the walls of Megara; and the vaunt had its effect. The naval power of Athens became less an object of fear, when it was supposed that protection against it might always be obtained by land. Shortly Myrcinus, Gapselus, and Œsymē revolted to the confederates; while several other towns, fearful yet to declare themselves, intimated privately their desire to be freed from subjection to Athens. SECT. IV.

Such success and such prospects incouraged Brasidas, in sending to Sparta an account of them, to request a reïnforcement, which might inable him to pursue his advantages, and attempt still greater things. A man who so united talents for military and civil command, who could conquer, as occasion required, either by force or by persuasion, and who had knowlege and temper to maintain his acquisitions, Lacedæmon had not yet presented to the notice of history. But talents so superior, in a man not of royal race, not qualified by age for superiority, and distinguished only by his spirit of enterprize, his daring courage, his indefatigable activity, his uncommon prudence, his noble liberality, his amiable temper, and those ingaging manners which conciliated the affection of all with whom he conversed, excited envy and apprehension among the cautious elderhood of Sparta. The reïnforcement was totally denied. The Athenian people meanwhile, however illiberal, and capriciously rigorous to those who served them, were not so untrue to their own interest as to neglect the important possessions, with the loss of which they were threatened: some

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reïnforcements were sent during winter: more were to follow in spring.

No disappointment, however, nor any rigor of season, could abate the activity of Brasidas. With the progress of his successes he inlarged his views; and, being now possessed of a country favorably situated, and producing materials in singular abundance, he formed the bold project of creäting a fleet at Amphipolis. Meanwhile, with his small force of Peloponnesians, and what allies he could collect, he marched into Actë, that part of the peninsula of Athos which lay within the king of Persia's canal. It contained the little towns of Sanë, Thryssus, Clæone, Acrothoœ, Olophyxus, and Dium, which were so many separate republics. The first only was a pure Grecian colony, from Andrus. The inhabitants of the others were a mixed people, a few Chalcidian Greeks, but the greater part Thracians; of that Tuscan people[8], says Thucydides, who formerly inhabited Lemnus and Athens. All were under the dominion of the Athenian commonwealth, but all presently acceded to the terms offered by Brasidas, except Sanë and Dium, whose territories he wasted.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 109.

A more important object then offering in the neighboring peninsula of Sithonia, he led his forces thither. A small party in Toronë, one of the principal Chalcidian seaports, invited him to support them in revolt. A majority of the Toronæan people still favored the Athenian interest; fifty heavy-armed Athenians were in the place, and two Athenian triremes in the harbor. Nevertheless, through the able conduct of Brasidas, and the bold adventure of only seven men, introduced in the night by

l. 4. c. 110. 112, 113.

[8] Τυρσηνῶν.

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the party disposed to revolt, it was taken. The Athenians, except a few who were killed, and the greatest part of the Toronæans, fled to the neighboring fortress of Lecythus. Brasidas summoned the place, offering permission for the Athenians to depart with their effects, and promising to the Toronæans the full injoyment of their rights as citizens of Toronë, together with the restoration of whatever of their property had fallen into his possession or under his power. The terms were inviting to men in their perilous situation; yet the Athenians, having prevailed upon the Toronæans to adhere to them, refused to surrender, but requested a day of truce for the burial of the dead. What followed deserves notice, in the great scarcity of any inlarged patriotism among the Greeks, as an instance of the firmness with which they often adhered to party-principle. Brasidas granted two days, and used the opportunity for employing all his eloquence and all his address in the endevor to conciliate the Toronæans to his interest. But the democratical party remained true to the Athenians; and not till machines were prepared, and a force was assembled, scarcely possible for them to resist, nor then till an accident occasioned a sudden panic, they quitted their fort of earth and wood, and most of them, getting aboard vessels lying at hand, escaped across the gulph into Pallenë. Such was the concluding event of the eighth year of the war.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 114, 115, 116.

SECTION V.

Negotiation for Peace between Athens and Lacedæmon. Truce concluded for a Year. Transactions in Thrace. War renewed. Thespiæ oppressed by Thebes. War between Mantinæa and Tegea. Remarkable Instance of Athenian Superstition.

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INTELLIGENCE of the rapid successes of Brasidas, coïnciding with the unfortunate event of the battle of Delium, and accompanied with reasonable apprehension of spreding defection among the subject cities, was of powerful effect to damp the wild ambition, and lower the unruly haughtiness of the Athenian people. It began again to be very generally observed and regretted among them, that their leaders, those in whom they most trusted, had advised them ill; and that so favorable an opportunity for making an advantageous peace, as that which had been proudly rejected, might not again recur. Fortunately for them, at this time, no spirit of enterprize animated the Lacedæmonian councils. The successes of Brasidas, highly gratifying as far as they tended to dispose the Athenians to peace, excited at the same time some apprehension among the Lacedæmonian leaders, that their own allies, and even the Lacedæmonian people, might be excited to desire the continuance of the war, to which they were anxious to put a conclusion. The great object of the principal families was to recover their kinsmen and friends, prisoners in Athens; and while they dreaded a reverse of fortune, that might renew the arrogance of their enemies, they feared also such success as might too much elate their allies. Such being the sentiments on both sides, negotiations for peace were opened, and, in the beginning of spring, a truce

for a year was concluded. Each party retained what it possessed, but the Peloponnesians however conceded the intire command of the Grecian seas to Athens; excluding themselves totally from the use of long ships (the general term for ships of war) and of any vessel of the row-galley kind of above five hundred talents measurement, which, according to Arbuthnot, was scarcely more than twelve ton. To this treaty the Lacedæmonians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, and Megarians only were parties, on the side of the Peloponnesian confederacy; but they ingaged to use their interest for persuading the Bœotians and Phocians to accede; and it was the professed purpose of the truce to give opportunity for negotiating a general and permanent peace. SECT. V. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 118, 119.

While these measures were taking in Greece for putting an end to the ravages of war, circumstances arose in Thrace to disturb the effect of the negotiation, and to give new fewel to animosity. The people of Scionë, the principal town of the fruitful peninsula of Pallenë, reckoned themselves a Peloponnesian people; referring their origin to a colony of Achaians of Pellenë or Pallenë, in Peloponnesus, who had established themselves on the coast of Thrace in returning from the war of Troy. This tradition tended to establish, among the Scionæans, a general partiality for the Peloponnesian connection, to which those of higher rank would otherwise incline; and a party among them communicated to Brasidas their desire to reject the dominion of Athens, and to be received under his protection. To correspond concerning the proposal was not easy; for not only the Athenians commanded the sea, but by the possession of Potidæa on the isthmus, they completely com- c. 120.

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manded also the communication by land. Brasidas therefore, who chose always to depend upon his own address rather than that of any deputies, and who refused no danger in the prosecution of the great objects of his command, resolved to go himself to Scionë, and, in a small swift boat, escorted by one trireme, he arrived safe in the harbor. He was so well assured of the strength of his party in the town, that he ventured immediately to assemble the people, and exert that eloquence which he had already found so useful. He began with his usual declaration, which experience had proved no less politic than liberal, 'that 'no man should suffer in person, property, or privi- 'leges for past political conduct, or existing poli- 'tical connections.' He was then large in praise of the Scionæan people, 'who, notwithstanding the 'peculiar danger to which their situation, inclosed 'within a peninsula, exposed them, in revolting 'against that tyrannical power which at present 'commanded the seas, had nevertheless not waited 'till freedom should be forced upon them through 'the prevalence of the Peloponnesian arms, but 'had been forward to assert it;' and he concluded with assurances 'of his readiness to give all protec- 'tion, and his wish to do all honor, to a people 'who, he was confident, would prove themselves 'among the most meritorious allies of Lace- 'dæmon.'

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 121.

The rhetoric and the liberality of Brasidas had their desired effect. Many, even of those who before were adverse to the revolt, became now satisfied with it, and the whole people vied in paying honors, public and private, to the Spartan general. From the city he received a golden crown, which was in solemn ceremony placed on

his head, as the deliverer of Greece; and individuals presented him with fillets, a usual mark of approving admiration to the conquerors in the public games; which, as something approaching to divine honor, was esteemed among the highest tokens of respect. SECT. V.

Scionë being thus gained, Brasidas was extending his views to Potidæa and Mendë, in both which places he held correspondence, when commissioners arrived, Aristonymus from Athens, and Athenæus from Lacedæmon, to announce the cessation of arms. The intelligence was joyful to the new allies of Lacedæmon in Thrace, as the terms of the treaty removed at once all the peril of the situation in which they had placed themselves. With regard to the Scionæans alone a dispute arose. Aristonymus, finding upon inquiry that the vote in assembly, by which they formally acceded to the Lacedæmonian alliance, had not passed till two days after the signing of the articles, declared them excluded from the benefit of the treaty. Brasidas, on the contrary, no way pleased with a truce that checked him in the full career of success, the first of any importance obtained by the Lacedæmonians in the war, and conceiving himself strongly pledged to preserve the Scionæans from Athenian vengeance, insisted that the revolt, truly considered, had taken place before the signing of the articles, and he refused to surrender the town. Aristonymus sent information of this to Athens, where preparation was immediately made to vindicate the claim of the commonwealth by arms. The Lacedæmonian government, disposed to support Brasidas, remonstrated; but the Athenian people, indignant, as Thucydides says, that not only their continental subjects, but now Thucyd. l. 4. c. 122.

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even those who were in the situation of ilanders, should so presume in the protection of the land-force of Peloponnesus at the instigation of Cleon, made a decree, declaring that Scionë should be taken, and the people put to death.

At the very time when this passionate act of democratical despotism was passing, an event occurred, which might have taught the Athenians, if a mob could be taught, the superiority of the generous policy of Brasidas to their illiberal and inhuman proceedings. Some of the principal men of Mendë, an Eretrian colony, also within the peninsula of Pallenë, had already gone so far in measures for leading their city to revolt, that they dreaded beyond all things the scrutiny, and the consequent punishment, which were to be expected from the jealous tyranny of Athens. Accordingly, finding Brasidas, notwithstanding the truce, ready to receive them into the Lacedæmonian alliance, they thought it their safest way to prosecute the measure begun; and tho a majority of the lower people was adverse, they succeeded in their design. Brasidas justified himself, partly by urging counter-complaints of infraction of the treaty by the Athenians, partly by maintaining that nothing forbad his receiving any Grecian people into the Lacedæmonian alliance, when the measure on their part was voluntary, and on both sides without fraud or treachery. But the Athenians judged otherwise; they would not indeed deem the truce void, but they would proceed to inforce by arms their own sense of the conditions of it. Brasidas, expecting this, removed the families and effects of the Scionæans and Mendæans to Olynthus, strengthened the garrisons with five hundred heavy-armed Peloponnesians and three-

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 123.

hundred middle-armed Chalcidians, and, having put everything in the best state for defence that time and circumstances would permit, he appointed Polydamidas, apparently a Lacedæmonian, to the chief command, and returned himself to his army. SECT. V.

In the arduous and complex business in which Brasidas was ingaged, in his quality of commander-in-chief of the Peloponnesian forces and superintendant of the Peloponnesian affairs in Thrace, while among Grecian towns his negotiations succeeded beyond hope, he found insuperable difficulty in managing his interests with the ambitious, crafty, haughty, capricious, and faithless king of Macedonia. Whether Arrhibæus had contravened or deserted his ingagements, or whether Brasidas thought it of so much importance to preserve the friendship of Perdiccas as to be induced himself to break with Arrhibæus, Thucydides does not inform us; but the Spartan general and the Macedonian king, with united forces, invaded Lyncestis. Three thousand heavy-armed foot formed the principal strength of the former, and a thousand horse that of the latter, who was besides followed by a numerous body of barbarian irregulars. A battle was fought, in which the Lyncestians, who were not without regular heavy-armed foot[9], were put to flight, but the country being mountainous, they soon reached the heights, where neither the Macedonian horse nor the Peloponnesian foot could, with any hope of advantage, follow them. Perdiccas proposed then to overrun the plain country. Brasidas was anxious for his new allies; particularly those of Thucyd. l. 4. c. 124.

[9] The term ὁπλίτης always imports so much.

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Mendë, where the lower people were so generally disposed to the Athenian interest, that should an Athenian force approach the place in his absence, the citizens of higher rank, who had effected the revolt, could not but be in the utmost peril. Having therefore so far served the king of Macedonia, he thought he might reasonably withdraw his forces, to give necessary protection to their common allies. Perdiccas, however, was dissatisfied that his wishes were disputed; and, while differences hence arising were yet unsettled, intelligence arrived, that a large body of Illyrian mercenaries, expected to reïnforce the Macedonian army, had betrayed their ingagement, and joined Arrhibæus.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 125.

This alarming information disposed Perdiccas to retreat with Brasidas; but in consequence of their disagreement, measures were not readily concerted between them. Night was approaching, and nothing yet determined, when exaggerated reports of the Illyrian numbers excited a panic through the Macedonian army, and the whole multitude of barbarian irregulars, with many of the Macedonians themselves, took to sudden flight. Already the evil was beyond remedy, before Perdiccas was informed of it; and his camp was so distant from the Peloponnesian, that it became necessary to follow his flying troops, without waiting to communicate with the Spartan general.

When day broke, Brasidas found himself in a very perilous situation. The superiority of the enemy's force, and his own want of means for subsistence, left no choice but of hasty retreat. He formed therefore his heavy-armed in a hollow square: the light-armed he placed in the center:

he selected a small body of the youngest and most active men, for a reserve, to assist in any point that might be most pressed; and he took upon himself the immediate command of the rear-guard, consisting of three hundred chosen men. Having then assured his people that irregular barbarians, however alarming their numbers and their clamor might appear, could never be reälly formidable to steddy troops, he began his march. SECT. V. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 126.

The Illyrians immediately pursued, with much vociferation and tumult, as if already victors, and slaughter their only business. They attacked: and, to their astonishment, were repulsed with loss: they repeated the attempt with no better success; and presently deterred by the firm countenance of the retreating army, with its readiness for efficacious resistance in every part, they drew off; but a body of them pressed forward, with intention to occupy the defile of the frontier mountains of Lyncestis, through which the Peloponnesians must necessarily pass to enter Lower Macedonia. Brasidas, aware of this, detached his three hundred, with orders to proceed with all haste to dislodge the enemy from the high ground, at least on one side of the pass. They succeeded in acquiring possession of one of the hills, the enemy evacuated the other, and the army arrived on the same day at Arnissa, the first town of the dominion of Perdiccas. c. 127.

In the course of this well-conducted retreat, the Peloponnesians fell in with much of the baggage and stores of the Macedonians, following, as the conductors were able, scattered, and without a guard, the disorderly flight of their army. Irritated by the base desertion, as they esteemed it,

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of the Macedonians, the Peloponnesians seized whatever was most valuable and most portable; and then, loosing from their yokes the oxen employed in drawing the carriages, turned them wandering about the country. This ill-judged revenge, which the general probably could not prevent, completed the alienation of Perdiccas; who, that he might with less danger break with the Peloponnesians, began thenceforth to seek opportunity for renewing his alliance with Athens.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 129.

On returning into Thrace, Brasidas found reason to regret his unwilling absence from the protection of his new allies, and from the care of his interests in that country. An armament had arrived in Pallenë, under the command of Nicias and Nicostratus, consisting of forty Athenian and ten Chian triremes, with a thousand heavy-armed and six hundred bowmen of their national troops, a considerable body of middle-armed of their allies, and a thousand Thracian mercenaries. Proposing to direct their measures against the revolted cities of Mendë and Scionë, the Athenian generals began their operations with an attempt to force Polydamidas from a strong situation near the former, in which they narrowly escaped a total defeat. Reïmbarking however their troops, they went to Scionë, and took the suburbs on the first assault; but, unable to make any impression on the town, they proceeded to plunder the surrounding country. A party favoring them within the place, not powerful enough to put it into their hands, was nevertheless powerful enough to deter the ruling party from quitting their walls to protect their fields. Next day therefore the army was divided: half, under Nicias, ravaged the borders of the Scionæan and Mendian territories; while Nicos-

tratus, with the other half, approached the town of Mendë[10]. SECT. V.

Polydamidas, who had retired into that place with his Peloponnesians, thought himself strong enough, if he could persuade the Mendians to zealous coöperation, to attack the Athenians in the field. He accordingly assembled the people, and proposed the measure; but he was answered by one of the democratical party, 'that the Men-'dians would not march against the Athenians, 'and that no true interest of theirs had led them 'into their present ingagements with the Pelo-'ponnesians.' Polydamidas, in pursuance of the rules of Spartan discipline, and of that authority which Lacedæmonians in command usually every-where assumed, rather than of the policy which his situation required and the example of his general recommended, seized the man with his own hands, and was proceeding to drag him out of the assembly. This violent and arbitrary act so incensed the democratical party, that they im-mediately assaulted his adherents. These, ima-gining that measures had been concerted with the Athenian generals, now at the gates, fled into the citadel, whither Polydamidas and the troops about him also retired. Meanwhile the gates were ac-tually thrown open by some of the democratical party; and the whole Athenian army, the forces of Nicias having now joined those under Nicostra-tus, entered the town, ignorant of what had passed

[10] The text of Thucydides appears here evidently deficient, and neither the antient scholiast nor the modern annotators give any assistance. It is nevertheless pretty clear, from the context, that the sense here given, in which Smith's transla-tion has been followed, is just. A note, however, which we do not find, to explain on what grounds his translation rested, would have added to our satisfaction.

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within, and wondering why they were not opposed. The soldiers accordingly proceeded immediately to pillage, and were with difficulty restrained even from putting the Mendians, their friends, to the sword. The tumult, however, being soon composed, the people were summoned to the agora. The Athenian generals then directed the restoration of the democratical form of government; and, with a politic liberality, declared they would institute no inquiry about the past, but would leave the Mendians to their own measures concerning those, if any such remained among them, who had been active in the revolt.

Matters being thus settled in Mendë, and a part of the army left to watch the citadel, the generals proceeded with the larger part against Scionë. Polydamidas had occupied a hill, the possession of which would have prevented the surrounding of the town with a contravallation. They dislodged him, and then immediately began to form their lines. Meanwhile the blockade of the citadel of Mendë had its effect in reducing the place into the power of the Athenians; but the garrison, by a bold effort, saved themselves. Sallying in the dusk of evening, they overcame the Athenian guard next the sea, and proceeding under cover of the night toward Scionë, broke through the Athenian camp there, and the greater part got safe into the town.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 132.

During these transactions, the negotiation for renewing the alliance between Athens and Macedonia, concerning which, presently after his retreat from Lyncestis, Perdiccas had begun to tamper with the Athenian generals, was brought to a conclusion; and the immediate consequence was of great importance. The party in Lacedæ-

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mon which favored Brasidas, had so far prevailed, that it was determined to send a body of forces, by the way of Thessaly, to strengthen his army. Intelligence of this being conveyed to Nicias and Nicostratus, they applied to their new ally, the king of Macedonia, to prevent the measure. Perdiccas had always maintained a strong interest in Thessaly, principally through personal communication in hospitality with the leading men. Being desirous to give proof of his sincerity in his revived ingagements with Athens, and otherwise little willing that his dominion should become a common road of communication for troops between Peloponnesus and Thrace, he prevailed with his Thessalian friends to interfere so effectually, that the Lacedæmonian government desisted from their purpose. Commissioners, however, were sent, of whom Ischagoras was chief, to inspect into the state of things in Thrace; and, contrary apparently to the ingagements of Brasidas, governors with the title of harmost, regulator, were sent with them from Sparta, to be constant guardians of the Lacedæmonian interests in the several towns. It is remarked by Thucydides, that all of these were under the age required by the Lacedæmonian institutions for forein command. Brasidas, deprived of the reïnforcement which he had long been soliciting, and which the Lacedæmonian government too late became disposed to grant him, toward the end of winter, nevertheless, made an attempt to surprize Potidæa; but being discovered by the sentries, before he could apply scaling-ladders to the walls, he withdrew without effecting anything.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 135.

During this year of nominal truce between Lacedæmon and Athens, while the interests of the two

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states were still prosecuted by arms in Thrace, some circumstances for notice occurred in Greece. The Thebans accused the Thespians of the crime of Atticism, as they termed the inclination to an alliance with Athens. The Thespians, however, had been principal sufferers in the late battle with the Athenians near Delium: but this very circumstance, which should have proved them not obnoxious to justice, rendered them unfortunately open to oppression; and the Thebans, under the claim of that arbitrary authority which they asserted over all Bœotia, required that the fortifications of Thespiæ should be demolished, to which the people of that little city were obliged to submit.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 133.

c. 134. A dispute between the Arcadian cities, in the want of a superintending authority, led to a petty war, and in the autumn of this year an obstinate battle was fought between the Mantineians and Tegeans. Each claimed the victory; each raised its trophy; and both being disabled for farther exertion immediately in the field, both endevored to gain the favor of the deity, for future occasions, by presenting at Delphi the spoil collected in the battle. About the same time, through some negligence of the antient priestess Chrysis, then in the c. 133. fifty-fifth year of her sacred office, the celebrated temple of the Argian Juno was destroyed by fire. Chrysis, in dread of the judgement or the wrath of the Argian people, fled to Phlius.

Meanwhile the informed Athenians were offering a very remarkable instance of popular superstition. Ever looking up to a superior cause for the direction of the events of this world, they did not attribute the reverse of fortune, which they were beginning to experience, to the wretched

constitution of their government, now so altered from that which Solon had established, nor to their own insufficiency for deciding on public measures, nor to the folly which, making them dupes to the boisterous eloquence of the ignoble and ignorant Cleon, led them to commit the administration of public affairs principally to his direction. Nor did they conceive themselves obnoxious to divine anger for all their unjust violence to their allies, and all their shocking cruelties to those whom they called rebellious subjects; yet they did attribute their misfortunes to the indignation of the deity. The fancy arose that the purification of the sacred iland of Delos had been deficiently performed, and it was proposed to secure the favor of the god by a new act of cruel injustice. The whole Delian people, subjects who had every right to protection from the Athenian government, were expelled from their iland, without having any other settlement provided for them. Those miserable Greeks, thus inhumanly treated by the most polished of their fellowcountrymen, found, however, charity from those whom they called barbarians: the Persian satrap Pharnaces gave them the territory of Atramytteium, on the Æolian coast, to cultivate for their subsistence.

SECT. V.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 11. Diod. l. 12. c. 73.

SECTION VI.

State of Athens: Effect of Theatrical Satire: Cleon fined: Cleon appointed General in Thrace: Battle of Amphipolis.

After the death of Pericles, there seems to have remained no man of rank in Athens, whose powers of elocution were of that superior kind, which, together with extraordinary talent for popularity,

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are necessary, in a democracy, for the guidance of public affairs. When all graver men were now tired of ineffectual opposition to the arrogance of the low and petulant Cleon in the general assembly, a poet undertook their cause, and attacked him on the public stage. The practice of the old comedy still subsisted in Athens: public characters were exhibited with the utmost freedom in the theater: masks, representing their countenances, being worn by the actors, who, in thus mimicking their persons, assumed, without any disguise, their names. This licence was of great political consequence; giving opportunity for those who could write, but who could not speak, to declare their sentiments, or to vent their spleen, on political topics; in the want of that art which now furnishes such ready means to multiply copies, a composition was thus at once communicated to a whole public; and stage exhibitions supplied the place of the political pamflets of modern times. The interest of a party thus might be promoted on the stage as in the agora; and those opinions might be propagated, and those passions excited, on one day by theatrical exhibitions, which on the morrow might decide the measures of the general assembly.

It was after the affair of Pylus, when Cleon was in the height of his popularity, when, in pursuance of a decree of the people, he was honored with precedence at the public spectacles, and maintenance in the Prytaneium, that Aristophanes brought upon the stage of Athens that extraordinary comedy, which remains to us with the title of The Knights. Cleon is there represented in the most ludicrous and ignominious light; sa-

Aristoph. Equit. v. 702.

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tire being at the same time not spared against the Athenian people, personated in their collective character by a single actor, with the name of Demus; as Swift, whose writings, by their extraordinary mixture of wit, elegance, buffoonery, and political acumen, approach beyond any other modern compositions to those of Aristophanes, has characterized the people of England under the appellation of John Bull. Such was the known influence of Cleon among the Athenian people, and such the dread of the intemperate use he might make of it, that no actor could be found bold enough to represent him on the stage, nor any artist to make a mask in his likeness. But Aristophanes would not be so disappointed: himself a man of rank, personally an enemy to Cleon, certain of support from all the first families of the republic, and trusting in his own powers to ingage the favor of the lower people, he undertook himself to act the part; and for want of a proper mask, he disguised his face, after the manner of the strolling comedians of Thespis's time, with lees of wine.

Aristoph. Equit. v. 230.

The immediate effect of this extraordinary exhibition was great. The performance was relished and applauded; Cleon was ridiculed and reviled: in this temper of the people an accusation was preferred against him for imbeziling public money: and, not finding his wonted support, he was condemned in a fine of five talents, above twelve hundred pounds sterling.

Aristoph. Acharn. v. 6. & Nub. v. 549.

In such a government, however, as that of Athens, nothing was lasting but the capriciousness of the people. The reproach of a condemnation, against which the greatest and purest

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characters were scarcely more secure than the vilest, was not likely long to affect Cleon. Pericles himself had been condemned; and, within a few days, the people anxiously invited him to take again the lead in public affairs. Cleon wanted no such invitation; he did not, with his reputation, lose his impudence. Continuing to cabal in the porticoes and vociferate in the assemblies, he loaded with vague accusation all the principal men of the commonwealth. The people gave him credit for abuse of their superiors, as they had given Aristophanes credit for abusing him. In the general assembly the field thus became his own. Demosthenes son of Alcisthenes, an able officer, and apparently an able statesman, but unknown as a public speaker, seems to have yielded before him; the mild and timid Nicias feared to exert his abilities in the contest; and Cleon by degrees so reïngratiated himself with the people, as to become again the first man of the commonwealth, and to have its forces at his disposal.

Thucyd. L. 5. c. 2.

His success at Pylus gave him to delude, not only the people but himself, with the imagination that he possessed military talents: he thought he could now command armies without the assistance of Demosthenes; and another fortunate expedition would drown the memory of what his reputation had suffered from the attack of Aristophanes, and inable him to overbear rivalship. He therefore opposed to his utmost, all proposals of a pacific tendency; urging continually that the tarnished glory of the commonwealth ought to be restored, and its losses repaired, by at least the recovery of what had been lately ravished from it. His arguments were calculated to make impres-

sion on the passions of the multitude: and the truce was no sooner expired than a decree passed for sending a force into Thrace, to the command of which he was appointed. The armament consisted of one thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse, of the flower of the Athenian youth, a considerable body of the allies, also select troops, and thirty trireme galleys. The commission of commander-in-chief in Thrace gave power to increase his force from the auxiliaries of that country, and from the Athenian troops already there. SECT. VI. Thucyd. l. 5. c. 2. Aristoph. Nub. v. 581.

Thus vested with an important and extensive command, in the tenth spring of the war, Cleon took his departure from Peiræus with his armament. Touching first in Pallenë, and reïnforcing himself with a part of the army which was besieging Scionë, he proceeded to a place called the Colophonian port, not far from Toronë, in the neighboring peninsula of Sithonia. He had been informed that in pursuance of a plan of Brasidas, for extending the fortifications of Toronë, so as to include the suburbs, a part of the old wall had been taken down, and the new works were not yet completed. Intelligence now came to him by deserters, that Brasidas was absent, and the garrison weak. A sudden assault was in consequence attempted, which succeeded, and the governor, Pasitelidas, a Lacedæmonian, was made prisoner, with all those of the garrison and people who survived the first slaughter. B. C. 422. Ol. 89. 2. P. W. 10. May. Thucyd. l. 5. c. 3.

Elated with this easy success, Cleon determined to proceed against Amphipolis, the most important of all the places of which the valor and ability of Brasidas had deprived the Athenian empire. Sailing therefore round Athos, and entering the c. 6.

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Strymon, the armament anchored in the port of Eion. This place Cleon chose for his central post. Hence he made a fruitless attempt upon Stageirus, but he succeeded against Galepsus. Meanwhile he applied to the king of Macedonia for the auxiliary force, which, according to treaty, he was to furnish, and endevored to obtain some mercenaries by negotiation with Polles, prince of the Odomantian Thracians.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 3.

Brasidas, who depended less upon any force he could with certainty command, than upon his own activity and address and the faults of his enemy, had hastened in vain to the relief of Toronë; tho when taken, he was already with a body of troops within five miles. When Cleon moved toward the Strymon, Brasidas directed his attention to Amphipolis. He could muster there, exclusively of the Amphipolitans, no more than two thousand regular heavy-armed foot, and one thousand middle-armed Thracian Greeks, with the valuable addition, however, of three hundred Grecian horse. The strength of the Amphipolitans, to be relied upon, was uncertain, on account of the difference in political sentiments among so mixed a people. The Edonian Thracians, however, voluntarily joined him with the whole force of their clan, horse and middle-armed foot, and he ingaged fifteen hundred Thracian mercenaries. With a body of fifteen hundred men, selected from these various troops, he occupied Cerdylium, a lofty and strong situation on the western bank of the Strymon, whence he could observe the motions of the Athenian army incamped on the opposite bank. The remainder of his forces he left within the walls of Amphipolis, under the command of Cleäridas.

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This being the situation of the two armies, Cleon, whose business was offensive operation, rested some time in total inaction, through meer ignorance, as Thucydides assures us, how to proceed. The numbers on each side were nearly equal; but the Athenian army was far superior in the kind of troops; those who were not Athenian citizens being the flower of the Lemnian and Imbrian forces. Confident in their own ability, and from the first little satisfied with the command under which they were placed, they grew uneasy in inactivity; while in their leisure they compared the known talents and courage of Brasidas with the evident deficiency of their own general. Cleon, informed of the growing discontent, became apprehensive of the consequences. It was his desire to await the reïnforcements which he expected: but, in the meantime, to hold out to his troops the appearance at least of employment, and the expectation of something more intended, and thinking, says Thucydides, to infuse an opinion of his military skill by a movement similar to what, tho not his own, had gained him so much credit at Pylus, he quitted his camp and approached Amphipolis. His declared purpose was, not to attack the enemy, who, he trusted, would feel their inferiority too much to venture to attack him; but only to make observations, and when the expected reïnforcements should arrive, he intended at once to surround and storm the town. He therefore occupied a lofty hill, which overlooked the place, and commanded, on one side, a view of the Strymon expanding into a lake as it approached the sea, on the other, of the varied ground through which its waters flowed from the inland country. Here he formed his camp,

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 7, 8, & 10.

c. 7.

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confident of holding it in his option equally to remain or retire, unmolested. Meanwhile the gates of the town being kept close, and no troops appearing upon the walls, he began to think he had been deficient in not bringing machines, with the coöperation of which, in the apparent weakness and timidity of the garrison, a brisk assault might, he imagined, have carried the place.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 8.

Brasidas, aware of the inferiority of his own troops in arms and in discipline, but the more confident in the resources of his genius, as he knew the inability of the general opposed to him, was anxious to bring on a battle before the reïnforcements should arrive. As soon therefore as he saw Cleon in motion, he also moved from his post on Cerdylium into Amphipolis. Observing then the disorderly negligence of the enemy, and

c. 9.

their apparent confidence in security, he formed his plan accordingly. By a sudden attack, without that perfect order of battle to which the Greeks generally attached great importance, he expected to gain two points: first, to throw the enemy into a confusion, which might reduce their troops to a level with his own; and then to prevent the incouragement which they would derive from the observation, if he allowed them means for it, of the small proportion which his regular heavy-armed bore to his total numbers. He could not, however, prudently omit those ceremonies which Grecian religion required as indispensable preparatives for a battle; and the Athenians, from the height which they occupied, could plainly distinguish the sacrifice performing in Amphipolis, before the temple of Minerva, and the bustle of preparation throughout the town. Thu-

c. 10.

cydides adds, that the feet of horses and men in

great numbers, as preparing to come out, so near might the antient fortifications be approached for the purpose of observation, could be discerned under the town-gates. SECT. VI.

Cleon, receiving information of these circumstances, and then assuring himself of the truth of it with his own eyes, would not await attack from a force which he had affected to despise, but instantly commanded the retreat of his whole army to Eion. This the nature of the ground would permit only to be performed by files from the left; which, in the Greek system of tactics, was highly disadvantageous. To remedy the defect and obviate the consequent danger, Cleon thinking he should have leisure for it, as soon as the ground permitted, wheeled round his right. If he had been in concert with the enemy to expose his army to certain defeat, he could scarcely have taken measures more effectual for the purpose. The evolution not only broke, for the time, that compact arrangement whence arose the security and strength of the Grecian phalanx, but exposed the soldier's right side, unprotected by his shield, to the enemy's weapons. This was an advantage beyond what Brasidas had hoped for. Exulting he exclaimed, 'An army moving 'in that manner does not mean to stand its 'ground; the victory is already ours; open the 'gates for me;' and immediately at the head of a chosen band of only one hundred and fifty men, if our copies of Thucydides are right, he ran toward the center of the Athenian army, the part, at that instant, the most disordered. At the same time Cleäridas, at the head of the rest of the Peloponnesian forces, issuing out of that called the Thracian gate, with a more steddy

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pace, supported Brasidas, and attacked other parts of the Athenian line.

In this situation of things, the Athenian left, already some way advanced, punctually obeyed the orders received, to hasten the march toward Eion, and, breaking away from the center, was soon out of reach of the enemy. This conduct was justified by that of the general, whom nothing could divert from his first purpose, to retreat. Quitting his right, with intention to join his left in its security, he was intercepted by a Myrcinian targeteer, from whom he received the death he deserved, marked with the ignominy of flight.

The disordered center of the Athenian army having been defeated in the first moment of attack, while the left had withdrawn from the contest, Brasidas directed his efforts to the right; which, tho deserted by its general, had preserved its order, and regaining the high ground, resisted firmly. Exerting himself apparently too much as a private soldier, of which his uncommon strength and activity, perhaps, led him to be over-fond, Brasidas received a wound; and falling, unperceived by the Athenians, was carried off by his friends. The heavy-armed under Cleäridas, coming to support him, were repulsed more than once, and the Athenians maintained the contest till they were surrounded; the enemy's horse and middle-armed foot galling their rear and flanks, while the whole force of the heavy-armed pressed them in front. Compelled thus at length to give way, they retreated toward the neighboring mountains, which they gained not without great difficulty and much loss; and then dispersing, fled, each as he best could, to Eion. Brasidas lived to be

brought into Amphipolis, and to know that his army was completely victorious, and soon after expired. SECT. VI.

Scarcely any Spartan known in history, and indeed few men of any nation, have shown themselves so indowed with talents to command armies and to persuade citizens, to make and to maintain conquests, as Brasidas. The estimation in which he was held, was remarkably testified by the honors paid to his memory. His funeral was performed with the utmost solemnity at the public expence; all the allies, as well as the Peloponnesian forces, attending in arms. A spot in front of the agora of Amphipolis was chosen to receive his ashes, and, as sacred ground, was inclosed with a fence, to prevent profane intrusion: a monument was erected there to perpetuate his memory: every testimony to the foundation of the colony by the Athenian Agnon, whether public building or whatever else, was carefully destroyed; and it was ordained by public decree, that, in future, Brasidas, the founder of the liberty of Amphipolis, should be venerated as the true founder of the city; and to conclude all, worship was decreed to him as a hero or demigod, and public games, with sacrifices, were instituted, to be annually performed to his honor[13]. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 11.

[13] Diodorus, and, after him, Plutarch, relate, that ambassadors from the Thracian Greeks to Sparta (and such a mission is mentioned by Thucydides, l. 5. c. 21.) were questioned by the mother of Brasidas, Argaleonis, concerning the death of her son. In reply, speaking largely in his praise, they said, that Brasidas had not left his equal behind him. 'Strangers,' answered Argaleonis, 'you mistake: my son was a man of 'great merit, but there are many superior to him in Sparta.' Diod. l. 12. c. 74. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. This anecdote is perfectly consonant to the spirit of patriotism, which it was the purpose of the Spartan institutions to instil into

SECTION VII.

Passage through Thessaly denied to the Lacedæmonian Troops. Negotiation for Peace resumed by Lacedæmon and Athens: A partial Peace concluded.

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Thucyd. l. 5. c. 12.

Too late the envy of the leading men in the Spartan administration had yielded to the pressing occasions of the commonwealth, which wanted abilities like those of Brasidas, and a body of nine hundred heavy-armed, under the command of Ramphias, Autocharidas, and Epicydides, had been ordered to his assistance. Toward the end of summer they arrived at Heracleia in Trachinia, and while they were settling the deranged affairs of that colony, the action near Amphipo-

Mid. Sept.

every citizen of either sex, and it may have had its foundation in fact: but according to every account of the times, particularly that of Thucydides, Argaleonis, if the story is fairly told, was more partial to her country than just to her son, and tho the sentiment had something noble, the assertion was not true; for Brasidas did not leave his equal behind him in Sparta, nor, apparently, in all Greece. The high reputation in which he was held by his enemies, may be gathered from an expression which Plato has put into the mouth of Alcibiades, where, speaking of great characters, and of Socrates as the only one without a parallel, he says Brasidas was not so, for he might be compared to Achilles: Οἷος γὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐγένετο, ἀπεικάσειεν ἄν τις καὶ Βρασίδαν. Conviv. p. 221. t. 3.

This expression of Plato seems to mark the superior strength and activity of Brasidas, and his disposition to personal exertion in battle. Perhaps we might do him an honor not less his due, by comparing him with a soldier of our own country, not particularly remarkable for those qualities. The concluding part of his life, at least, bore a strong resemblance to that of our conqueror of Canada. The obvious differences are, that Wolfe commanded the smaller and more disciplined army against the more numerous and less regular; that his business was attack, that of Brasidas defence; and that, instead of a Cleon, the general opposed to him was a man of rank, and of distinguished abilities, experience and general worth.

lis happened. They had already entered Thessaly, when intelligence of it reached them; and about the same time a declaration was communicated to them from the Thessalians, that their march through Thessaly would be opposed. The difficulty thus presented, the consciousness, as Thucydides adds, of their insufficiency for the prosecution of those designs which had originated with Brasidas, the consideration that the necessity for reïnforcing the Peloponnesian troops in Thrace was alleviated by the advantages already gained there, and the knowlege that the leading men of their administration were more anxious for peace than willing to risk farther the events of war, all together determined them immediately to lead their little army home. SECT. VII. Thucyd. l. 5. c. 13.

A concurrence of circumstances now contributed c. 14. to induce the two leading powers nearly equally to desire peace. The Lacedæmonians had originally ingaged in the war in confidence of decisive superiority, and in full hope that the waste of Attica, with a battle, which they expected would insue, and in which they had no doubt of being victorious, would bring the Athenians to their terms. The event had everyway deceived their expectation. The ravage of Attica had produced no important consequence; they found themselves utterly unable to raise that formidable navy which they had projected: on the contrary, their allies had been exposed to continual danger, and suffered extensive injury, from the Athenian fleets; and at length the blow had fallen severely on themselves. Their loss in killed and prisoners at Pylus was such as never within memory had happened to their state: the enemy possessed a fortress within their country; a most galling circumstance, and still more strange to them: an

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iland was taken from them, which commanded their coast; and from Pylus and from Cythera their lands were infested, and depredation was spred, in a manner before totally unexperienced. Their slaves at the same time deserted in numbers, and the apprehension was continual, that confidence in forein assistance would excite insurrection among the numerous remainder of those oppressed men. Anxiety was unceasing in the principal families, for their friends and relations confined in the public prison of Athens; and, to make the prospect more alarming, a truce, which had been concluded for thirty years between Lacedæmon and Argos, was on the point of expiring, and the Argians refused to renew it but on terms to which the Lacedæmonians were very unwilling to submit; while at the same time there appeared reason to apprehend that a breach with Argos would make a schism in Peloponnesus, and that some of the principal states of their alliance would side with the Argians against them.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 15.

c. 14.

So many and so weighty were the causes which still urged Lacedæmon, notwithstanding the late turn of fortune in her favor, to be solicitous for peace. At the same time that turn of fortune had considerably lowered the haughty tone of Athens. The defeats at Delium and Amphipolis, the revolt of so many of their dependencies, and the fear that others would follow a successful example, had checked the idea before prevailing, that they could command the fortune of war, and might dictate the terms of peace; and there followed a very general regret, that the favorable opportunity, procured by the success at Pylus, had been, in wanton haughtiness, thrown away.

With the inclination of the people, on both sides, it fortunately happened that the temper and inte-

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 16.

SECT. VII.

rests of the leading men concurred. By the death of the turbulent Cleon, the mild Nicias was left undisputedly first minister of the Athenian commonwealth. While the innate temper of Nicias disposed him to peace, the inclination was heightened by the accidental circumstance of possessing a very large patrimony, which, in the insecurity of the scanty territory of a Grecian republic, peace only could inable to injoy; and even the desire of glory, to which he was not insensible, led him to seek the reputation of being the peace-maker for his country, while peace could yet be made with certain advantage. At the same time, among the Lacedæmonians, the interest of Pleistoanax, the reigning prince of the house of Eurysthenes, led him to be urgent for peace. Pleistoanax, as we have heretofore seen, in early youth, had been condemned to banishment, on suspicion of taking bribes from Pericles to lead the Peloponnesian army out of Attica. The Lacedæmonian ministry, it appears, whether in the necessity of complying with popular superstition, or desirous of finding a cover for their own inability and an excuse for miscarriages, frequently applied for advice to the Delphian oracle; and they were disturbed with the continual repetition of an exhortation annexed to every response, 'That the Lacedæ-'monians should bring back the demigod, son of 'Jupiter.' The friends of Pleistoanax interpreted this as a divine admonition to restore that prince, the descendant and representative of the demigods Hercules and Perseus, acknowleged by Grecian superstition as sons of Jupiter; and Pleistoanax was in consequence restored, after a banishment of nineteen years. But a report was circulated, and gained extensive credit, that the admonitory response had been procured by bribery to the Del-

Ch. 12. s. 5. of this Hist.

Thucyd. ut ant.

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phian priests; and the party in opposition did not fail to make advantage of that report, attributing every adversity that befel the Spartan arms, to the anger of the gods at the restoration of Pleistoanax, at any rate offensive to them, but doubly so as having been procured by such impious collusion. Thus it became particularly an object with that prince to obviate the risk of calamities from war.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 17.

Such being the disposition on both sides, conferences were opened, and they were continued through the winter. Toward spring the negotiation was so little advanced, that the Lacedæmonians circulated notices among their allies, to prepare, not only for a fresh invasion of Attica, but for the establishment of a fortified post in the country. Soon after, however, preliminaries were agreed upon; the fundamental principle of which was, that each party should restore what had been taken in the war; except that Nisæa was reserved to Athens, in consideration of the refusal of the Thebans to surrender Platæa. A convention of deputies from the states of the Lacedæmonian alliance was then assembled, when the Bœotians, Corinthians, Eleians, and Megarians, protested against the proposed terms: but the other states, who formed a majority of the assembly, approving them, the Lacedæmonian government proceeded to ratify the peace in the name of the whole confederacy. It ran nearly

c. 18.

thus: 'That the common temples, the religious 'rites, and the oracles of the Greek nation, (those 'of Delphi particularly named) should be equally 'open to all, to pass to and from at all times in 'safety, by sea or by land; and that the Delphian 'people should be independent, yielding obedience 'and paying tribute to none: That the treaty should 'remain in force for fifty years: That if any dis-

'putes should arise between the contracting powers, SECT. VII.
'they should be determined by judicial process, the
'mode of which should be hereafter settled: That
'the cities to be restored by Lacedæmon, namely,
'Argilus, Stageirus, Acanthus, Scolus, Olynthus,
'Spartolus, together with those in the peninsula of
'Athos, should be free, paying only to Athens the
'tribute appointed by Aristeides: That those cities
'should not, by the operation of this treaty, be
'bound in confederacy with either party; but that
'it should be permitted them, by their own act, if
'they should hereafter chuse it, to join the Athe-
'nian confederacy: That Amphipolis, being an
'Athenian colony, should be restored uncondition-
'ally; and that the Lacedæmonians should procure
'the restoration of the fortress of Panactum in At-
'tica, taken by the Bœotians. On the other side,
'that Coryphasium (the territory in which Pylus
'was situated) Cythera, Methonë, Pteleum, and
'Atalanta, should be restored to Lacedæmon. Pri-
'soners were to be equally restored on both sides.
'The Scionæans, now besieged, were left to the
'mercy of the Athenian people; the safe departure
'of the Peloponnesians in garrison with them only
'being provided for. It was then stipulated that
'every state acceding to the treaty should seve-
'rally swear to the observation of it, by that oath
'which its own religious institutions made for itself
'most sacred and binding; that such oath should
'be repeated annually; and that columns, with the
'treaty inscribed, should be erected at Olympia, at
'Pytho (the name by which Homer calls Delphi,
'and which seems to have been continued in use
'as a more solemn and sacred appellation) at the
'isthmus, at Athens in the citadel, and at Lacedæ-
'mon in the Amyclæum: and finally, that it should

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'be lawful for the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, 'by mutual consent, to supply any omission, and, 'after due discussion, to make any alteration in 'these articles.' The date is then added thus: 'At the conclusion of the treaty presided the ephor 'Pleistolas, on the fourth day before the end of the 'Lacedæmonian month Artemisius, and the archon 'of Athens, Alcæus, on the sixth day before the 'end of the Athenian month Elaphebolion,' which our chronologers make the tenth of April. Fifteen Lacedæmonians and seventeen Athenians, as representatives of the two states, assisted at the sacrifices, and took the oaths. The name of the ephor Pleistolas stands at the head of the Lacedæmonians, that of Lampon is first of the Athenians; among whom we find those of Nicias, Laches, Agnon, Lamachus, Demosthenes, and others who had been in high situations in the government.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 19.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the PELOPONNESIAN WAR, during the PEACE between LACEDÆMON and ATHENS.

SECTION I.

Difficulties in the Execution of the Articles of the Peace. Alliance between Lacedæmon and Athens. Intrigues of the Corinthians: New Confederacy in Peloponnesus: Dispute between Lacedæmon and Elis: Dispute between Lacedæmon and Mantineia. Tyranny of the Athenian People: Surrender of Scione: Superstition of the Athenian People.

SECT. I.

THE treaty of peace thus concluded between the leading powers of the two confederacies, which had been contending, with little remission, now ten years in arms, was ill calculated to give general and permanent quiet to the nation. A want of able men in the administration of Lacedæmon, which had been manifested in the conduct of the affairs of that state through the whole of the war, above all showed itself in this treaty, and in the circumstances which followed. A narrow policy appeared in the treaty itself: the exclusive interest of Lacedæmon was considered: that of the allies, by whom Lacedæmon was powerful, and without whom she scarcely could be safe (such was the alteration since the simple age of the great legislator) were unpardonably neglected. The Lacedæmonians themselves were to recover all that had been taken from them; but their old and necessary

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 21.

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allies the Corinthians were to remain deprived of their colonies of Soleium in Ætolia, and Anactorium in Acarnania: the Megarians were to put up with the much more distressing loss of Nisæa, their port, not a mile from the city; while the Eleians were suffering, not neglect, but what they imputed to Sparta as active injustice and oppression. With all this, the Lacedæmonian administration found themselves unable to carry into effect some of the most important articles of their own treaty. It was to be decided by lot, which of the contracting parties should first perform its ingagement, for the restoration of prisoners and places taken, and the lot fell upon Lacedæmon. Accordingly the Athenian prisoners were immediately released; and Ischagoras, with two other commisioners, was sent into Thrace, to direct the surrender of Amphipolis, and to require compliance with the terms of the treaty, from the towns which had been received into the Lacedæmonian alliance. But those towns refused; and Cleäridas, who had succeeded Brasidas in the command in chief in Thrace, would not, pretending he could not, in opposition to the Chalcidians, surrender Amphipolis. Both the general, however, and the Chalcidian chiefs, became apprehensive of the consequences of this disobedience; and the former went himself, the others sent deputies, to apologize for their conduct, but at the same time with a view to procure an alteration of the articles, or even to disturb the peace. Cleäridas was hastily remanded, with orders to bring away all the Peloponnesian forces, if compliance with the terms of the treaty should be any longer delayed.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 21.

c. 22. The congress of deputies of the confederacy remained still assembled in Lacedæmon, and the Lacedæmonian administration had been in vain

urging the dissentients to accede to the treaty. They were equally unsuccessful in the endevor to accommodate matters with Argos; so that, with that state, a war seemed inevitable, in which, according to all appearance, the greater part of Peloponnesus would be against them. Alarmed by these considerations, they proposed a defensive alliance with Athens, which was hastily concluded; and then the Athenians released the prisoners taken in Sphacteria. Meanwhile the congress of the Peloponnesian confederacy was dismissed, with a disposition, among many of the members, far from friendly to the political quiet of Greece. SECT. I. Thucyd. l. 5. c. 23. c. 24. c. 22. 27.

The complex intrigues that insued among the Grecian republics, form, in the detail of them remaining to us from Thucydides, not indeed the most splendid, but one of the most curious and instructive portions of Grecian history. Nothing gives to know so intimately the political state of Greece in general, at the time, or the state of parties in the principal republics; and nothing affords equal ground for a just estimation of the value of that union, scarcely to be called a federal union, but rather a connection founded on opinion, and supported principally by similarity of language, manners, and religious belief; a connection subsisting unequally, uncertainly, and yet subsisting, among the numerous and scattered members of the Greek nation. It may indeed be difficult, even with that able and exact historian for our guide, to avoid some tediousness, and perhaps some confusion in the narration; which must however be hazarded, rather than evade an important part of the office of historian.

The Corinthians, irritated now against Lacedæmon, were not less warm than at the beginning of c. 27.

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the war in enmity to Athens. When the convention of the confederacy was dismissed, their deputies, instead of returning immediately home, went to Argos, where means of confidential communication with some of the leading men[1] were open to them. To these they urged, that 'since the Lacedæmonians, resigning their antient character, or 'rather their pretension to the character, of protectors of the liberty of Greece, had made not only 'peace, but a close alliance, with the Athenians, its 'most determined and dangerous enemies, it became the Argians to interfere, toward the preservation, at least, of Peloponnesus. The opportunity which present circumstances offered,' they said, 'was inviting: for such was the disgust taken 'at the conduct of Lacedæmon, it would be only 'to declare, by a public decree, the readiness of 'the Argian people to enter into alliance with any 'independent Grecian cities, and they would quickly find themselves at the head of a powerful confederacy.' The Argian chiefs were very well disposed to the measure thus recommended; but a difficulty occurred in the democratical form of their government. In regular course, all negotiation with forein states must be transacted with the assembly of the people. This would unavoidably make the business more public than suited the views of the Corinthian deputies, or could consist with the safety of the leading men in some of the republics with which they meant to negotiate. The Corinthian ministers therefore advised to propose, in general terms only, to the Argian people, 'That alliances 'should be made with friendly Grecian states;' and when this proposition had received the sanc-

[1] —— Τῶν ἐν τέλει.

tion of a decree, it might be ventured farther to recommend, 'That the necessary negotiations should 'be intrusted to select commissioners.' SECT. I.

A concurrence of circumstances at this time favored the purpose of the Corinthians. While the reputation of Lacedæmon had been considerably lowered in Greece by the events of the late war, Argos, keeping upon good terms with all the contending powers, had thriven in peace. Ambition grew with increasing wealth and strength, and the decay of Lacedæmon seemed to offer an opening for Argos, to recover its antient preëminence and command in Peloponnesus; which, far from an empty honor, would be a very important advantage, when, as at present, a war with that still powerful neighbor was impending. Thus the Corinthian deputies succeeded with the Argian chiefs, and these with the people; and a committee of twelve men was appointed, with full power to conclude treaties of alliance, defensive and offensive, with any Grecian states, except Athens and Lacedæmon: if either of these should offer, it was required that the proposal should be laid before the Argian people. Thucyd. l. 5. c. 28.

Not any liberal view to an improvement of the federal union of Greece, but the separate interest of particular republics, brought the first accession to the proposed new confederacy under the presidency of Argos. While the war with Athens had kept Lacedæmon fully ingaged, the Mantineians had compelled a part of Arcadia, before independent, to submit to their dominion; and they justly apprehended that, in the leisure of peace, however any generous regard for the common welfare might be wanting, the consideration of their own interest would urge the Lacedæmonians to interfere, and c. 29.

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prevent such exercise of sovereinty over any people within Peloponnesus. The universal liberty of Greece had been held out as the first principle of the new confederacy; but to make a beginning toward collecting allies, was esteemed by the Argians of more importance than a strict adherence to any such principle. The government of Mantineia, like their own, was democratical: which was a reason both for their union in opposition to Lacedæmon, and for the allowance of some indulgence to Mantineia in the exercise of a tyrannical authority over other Grecian states.

This narrow and corrupt policy was, in the moment, not unattended with the proposed advantage. Great and general offence and alarm had been taken at that article in the treaty between Lacedæmon and Athens, which declared that the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, without mention of any other states of Greece, might in concurrence, at any time, make whatever alteration in the conditions to them should seem fit; which was little less than a declaration of authority, in those two states united, to give law to Greece. The accession of Mantineia to the new confederacy increased the ferment: for, while intelligence of the fact was circulated, the motives were not universally obvious; and it was very generally supposed, that the Mantineians, near neighbors to both Lacedæmon and Argos, knew more than was generally known, and that reasons which impelled them ought probably to weigh with all.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 30.

The Lacedæmonian administration, early informed of all these political movements, were greatly alarmed. Ministers were dispatched to Corinth, which was understood to be the fountain-head of the intrigue, to inquire and remonstrate. By the

terms of that confederacy of which Lacedæmon was the head, it was stipulated that the voice of a majority of the states should bind the whole; with an exception, however, required perhaps by Grecian superstition, but singularly adapted to political evasion, expressed in these terms, 'provided no 'hindrance occurred from the gods or heroes.' Whatever might be the views of some leading men among the Corinthians in desiring the continuance of the war, the cause of the general dissatisfaction of the Corinthian people with the terms of the peace, was well known, and was reasonable. The Lacedæmonians, in stipulating for the restoration of all places taken from themselves by the Athenians, had ceded the towns of Soleium and Anactorium, taken from the Corinthians. But this, however a real grievance and a just cause of dissatisfaction, could not properly be urged by the Corinthians as a cause for refusing accession to the treaty with Athens, which was a regular act of the confederacy. They resorted therefore to the gods for their pretence; alleging that they had bound themselves by oath to protect the Potidæans and their other allies in Thrace; whence arose a hindrance from the gods, such that they could not accede to the terms of the treaty. To the complaints of the Lacedæmonians about the Argian confederacy, they replied, 'that they would consult their allies, and 'do nothing but what should be deemed proper 'and just.' With these answers the Lacedæmonian ministers, unable to obtain any farther satisfaction, returned home.

SECT. I.

In the disputes, difficult by any means to settle, to which the division of Peloponnesus into so many independent village states gave perpetual occasion, circumstances had arisen to set the Eleians, still

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 31.

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more than the Corinthians, at variance with Lacedæmon. Before the war, the people of the little town of Lepreum, oppressed by the united enmity of some neighboring Arcadian villages, had applied to Elis for protection, offering half their lands to obtain it. The Eleians, accepting the condition, compelled the Arcadians to make peace, and then allowed the Lepreans still to occupy the ceded territory, paying only an acknowlegement of a talent yearly to Olympian Jupiter. For anything that appears, the bargain was advantageous for a people so unable to defend their property, and maintain themselves in unconnected independency, as the Lepreans. But when the war with Athens broke out, the Lepreans, as well as the Eleians, being members of the Lacedæmonian confederacy, urged the expence of expeditions into Attica, and other burthens of the war, as pretences for discontinuing the payment. This, however, the Eleians would not admit; upon which the Lepreans appealed to Lacedæmon: but the Eleians, apprehending that they should not have fair measure of justice there, waved the arbitration, and asserted their right by arms. The Lacedæmonians nevertheless proceeded to give sentence in the cause, declaring the Eleians aggressors, and the Lepreans free; and upon the refusal of the Eleians to accept this decision, they had put a body of forces into Lepreum for its protection.

Irritated by this arbitrary, and, as they esteemed it, unjust proceeding, the Eleians were prepared for the opportunity which now offered for ingaging in a confederacy of Peloponnesian states, in opposition to Lacedæmon. They sent ministers to Corinth, who concluded a separate treaty of alliance with that state; and, proceeding to Argos, pledged their commonwealth to the new confederacy. Then the Corinthians also acceded to that confederacy,

and their influence decided the Chalcidians of Thrace to the same measure. The Bœotians and Megarians were enough dissatisfied with Lacedæmon to declare approbation of it, and an intention to concur. But the consideration that the presidency of a democratical government could scarcely fail to jar with the interests of their oligarchal administrations, made them hesitate to conclude. SECT. I.

While these intrigues were going forward, for the purpose of subverting the power of Lacedæmon, the administration of that state were carrying into effect against the Mantineians, after their usual method, by force of arms, that undefined and arbitrary kind of jurisdiction, which the Peloponnesians seem, in some measure, by common consent to have committed to them, and which, tho not often successfully, had nevertheless been opposed almost as often as exercised. A party at Parrhasii in Arcadia, one of the townships which the Mantineians had subjected, applied to Lacedæmon for relief. The Mantineians were not only obnoxious at Lacedæmon, for their new connection with Argos, but still more particularly for having put a garrison into Cypsela, a fortress in the Parrhasian territory, close upon the borders of Laconia. At the same time therefore to take Cypsela, and to relieve the Parrhasians from their subjection to Mantineia, which would be in effect to bring them under subjection to Lacedæmon, the whole force of the commonwealth marched under the king Pleistoanax. Thucyd. l. 5. c. 33.

The resource of the Mantineians, not one of the smallest republics of Greece, is among the strongest proofs of the miserably uncertain state of government, law, property, and freedom, through the greatest part of that country. That they might exert their whole force in defence of the Parrhasian

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territory, they committed their own city, with their families, and indeed their all, except themselves and their arms, to a garrison of Argians. They were nevertheless unable to give any effectual opposition to the Lacedæmonian army: Cypsela was destroyed, and Parrhasii, as far as under Lacedæmonian protection might be, became again an independent state. The fidelity of the Argians to their trust, however, cemented the new connection between their state and Mantineia.

In the course of the summer, Cleäridas returned to Lacedæmon, with the troops which had fought under Brasidas in Thrace; and the government rewarded the valor and zeal of the Helots of that army with the present of their liberty, giving them leave to settle themselves wherever they could find a livelihood. The present seems thus to have been of small value; for the Helots were little able to provide a settlement for themselves. But in Lacedæmon were some other Helots, who, to strengthen the state in its declining circumstances, had been admitted to the rights of citizens; and Spartan pride and Spartan jealousy, now peace was restored with Athens, would willingly see all those persons members of any state rather than of their own. The infranchised Helots therefore were all established in Lepreum, as an increase of force to that town against the enmity of Elis.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 34.

A measure of arbitrary severity, not indicating a good and firm constitution, was about the same time taken, on the plea of necessity for the security of the commonwealth, against the unfortunate men who had been just restored to their country, after so long languishing in Athenian prisons. Not only many of them were of high rank, but some were actually in high offices. They found themselves

SECT. I.

nevertheless exposed to frequent invective, for having done, what was esteemed, among the Lacedæmonians, so disgraceful and so illegal, and hitherto so unknown, as surrendering their arms to an enemy, tho, for the occasion, it had been specially warranted by the executive power. Some disturbance was apprehended in consequence; to prevent which, a decree of degradation was passed by the people against them, rendering them incapable of office, and, what appears extraordinary, whether as precaution or punishment, incapable of buying or selling. Some time after, however, tho what occasioned the change we are not informed, they were restored to their former rights and honors.

Isocr. Archid. & Or. ad Philipp.

Peloponnesus thus, long esteemed the best-governed and the happiest portion of the Greek nation, might seem now to have sheathed the sword, drawn against external enemies, only to give the freer opportunity for internal convulsion. Athens meanwhile, and her confederacy, were not better prepared for political quiet and civil order. In that state indeed of the Athenian constitution, which gave means for Cleon to become first minister and general in chief, the fate of the subordinate republics, subjected to the arbitrary will of such a soverein as the Athenian people, under the guidance of such a minister as Cleon, could not but be wretched, or in the highest degree precarious. That tyranny over them, described and remonstrated against, especially by Xenophon and Isocrates, appears to have been then at its greatest height; nor could the mild benevolence of a Nicias go far toward its restraint. Not satisfied with the simple possession and exercise of absolute power, tho it sent those who offended to execution or slavery by thousands, the Athenian people would indulge in the pride

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and vanity and ostentation of tyranny. 'So diligent,' says Isocrates, 'were they to discover how they might most earn the detestation of mankind, that, by a decree, they directed the tribute money to be exhibited, at the Dionysian festival, on the stage of the theater, divided into talents; thus making parade before their allies, numbers of whom would be present, of the property wrested from them to pay that very mercenary force, by which they were held in so degrading a subjection; and setting the other Greeks, of whom also many would attend, upon reckoning what orphans had been made, what calamities brought upon Grecian states, to collect that object of pride, for the Athenian people.'

Isocr. de Pace. p. 222. t. 2. ed. Auger.

Such was the character of the Athenian government, when the unfortunate Scionæans, all assistance being withdrawn from them, were reduced to the dreadful necessity of surrendering themselves at discretion to the Athenian forces; and the Athenian people added, upon the occasion, a shocking instance to the many that occur in history, of the revengeful and unrelenting temper of democratical despotism. Tho Cleon was no longer living to urge the execution of the decree, of which he had been the proposer, it was nevertheless executed in full strictness: every male of the Scionæans, arrived at manhood, was put to death, and the women and children were all reduced to slavery: the town and lands were given to the Platæans.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 32.

Amid such acts of extreme inhumanity, we have difficulty to discover any value in that fear of the gods, and that care about the concerns of what they called religion, which we find ever lively in the minds of the Greeks. The late change in the fortune of war, and the losses sustained by the

commonwealth, gave the Athenians to imagine that the gods had taken offence at something in their conduct; but they never looked beyond some vain ceremony; whether, in its concomitant and consequent circumstances, moral or most grossly immoral. The cruel removal of the Delians from their iland had been undertaken as a work of piety, necessary toward obtaining the favor of the deïty. The contrary imagination now gained, that the god's pleasure had been mistaken; and the Delians were restored to their possessions. Possibly some leading men found their ends in amusing the minds of the people with both these mockeries.

SECT. I.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 32.

SECTION II.

Continuation of Obstacles to the execution of the Articles of the Peace. Change of Administration at Lacedæmon: Intrigues of the new Administration; Treaty with Bœotia; Remarkable Treaty with Argos: Resentment of Athens toward Lacedæmon.

The peace restored free intercourse between Athens and those Peloponnesian states which acceded to it; tho inability, on one side, completely to perform the conditions, produced immediately, on the other, complaint, with jealousy and suspicion, which soon became mutual. The Peloponnesian troops were withdrawn from the protection of Amphipolis; but the place was left to the inhabitants, with arms in their hands. The other Thracian towns, which had joined the Peloponnesian alliance, refused to acknowlege the authority of the treaty: for the conditions, tho favorable to the democratical, would have been ruinous to the oligarchal, which, through the connection with Lacedæmon, was become the

SECT. II.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 35. B.C. 421. Ol. 89. 3.

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ruling party. In consequence of repeated remonstrances, a day was at length named, within which, if all those included in the treaty, as members of the Peloponnesian confederacy, did not comply with the terms, Lacedæmon should hold them as enemies, and join Athens in her measures. The time passed, and the Lacedæmonians still made excuses. They had manifested their desire, they said, to fulfil their ingagements, by doing everything in their power: they had restored the Athenian prisoners, they had withdrawn their troops from Thrace; they still hoped, without so rigorous a measure, against antient allies, as compulsion by arms, to succeed to their desire with the Corinthians and Bœotians; and with regard to the prisoners in the hands of the latter, about whom the Athenians were particularly anxious, they had no doubt of obtaining their release. It therefore became the Athenians to show an equally good disposition by surrendering Pylus; or, if they would still detain that place as a pledge, they should however remove the Messenians and Helots implacable and restless enemies of Lacedæmon, and garrison it with Athenians only, who would not contravene the terms of the peace. With the latter requisition the Athenians, after much altercation, complied; and the Messenians and Helots, removed from Pylus, were established in Cephallenia.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 36.

The change in the annual magistracies, in autumn, brought a change in the politics of Lacedæmon, which of course affected all Greece. Lacedæmon, like other Grecian states, had its factions; and there was now an opposition, if we may use a modern term perfectly apposite, not only adverse to the peace, but holding constant correspondence with the Corinthians, Bœotians, and other seceders

from the confederacy. The political power of the kings, which should have given stability to the measures of executive government, was nearly annihilated; while the ephors, in the name of the people, had been gradually acquiring, to their own office, a despotic control over the whole administration; and, that office being annual, the Lacedæmonian councils became of course liable to much fluctuation. At the late change, two of the opposition, Cleobulus and Xenares, had been elected ephors. In the following winter a congress of deputies, from all the principal states of Greece, was assembled at Sparta, for the professed purpose of accommodating the numerous existing differences; but, after much altercation, they parted without settling anything. Cleobulus and Xenares then put forward an intrigue, apparently well conceived, for the purpose, at the same time, of serving their party, of relieving their country from evils actual or threatened, and of confirming and even extending its antient preëminence among the Grecian republics. In Argos itself, the state most inimical to Lacedæmon, they held correspondence with a friendly party; and they were upon good terms with the leading men of Corinth and Bœotia, which their predecessors had not been. These circumstances formed the basis of their project. Instead of opposing the new confederacy, they proposed, through the Corinthian and Bœotian deputies, who were friendly to their purpose, first, to promote the projected alliance of Bœotia with Argos, and then to endevor to ingage Argos itself in alliance with Lacedæmon. That being effected, it would not be difficult to renew the connection with Bœotia, Corinth, Mantineia, and Elis; and thus Lacedæmon would find itself at the head of its whole antient confederacy, with the

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powerful and long inimical commonwealth of Argos added.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 37.

The plan, so laid, was communicated to the friendly party in Argos, and the Bœotian and Corinthian deputies returned home. The Bœotarcs, being then sounded, were found perfectly disposed to the measure. But the publicity required for all transactions of government, even in the aristocratical Grecian commonwealths, thwarted a new project for which secrecy was indispensable. It was

c. 38.

necessary for the Bœotarcs to obtain the assent of the four supreme councils. They began with proposing alliance with Corinth; to which a majority in the councils would have had no repugnancy, could they have been assured of the concurrence of the Spartan administration; but being uninformed of what had passed between their deputies at Sparta and the ephors, they were alarmed at the proposal of a measure which would be apparently a declaration of enmity to the Lacedæmonians, with whom they chose to maintain their connection. Ministers from Argos were already arrived at Thebes; but

c. 37.

the leading proposal of an alliance with Corinth being rejected, the Bœotarcs did not venture any mention of an alliance with Argos, and, for the present, the whole business dropped.

c. 39.

While this intrigue was going forward, another business from Lacedæmon was negotiated at Thebes. Nothing now pressed the Lacedæmonians so much as the retention of Pylus by the Athenians; and they knew that nothing pressed the Athenians so much as the retention of the Athenian prisoners, and the fortress of Panactum in Attica, by the Bœotians. The object of Lacedæmon therefore was to procure from the Bœotians the restoration of Panactum and the prisoners, so that they might

obtain in return the surrender of Pylus from the Athenians. The difficulty was to find means of remuneration to Bœotia. The Bœotians would accept nothing but an alliance with Lacedæmon, upon precisely the same conditions with that lately concluded with the Athenians; but this was directly contrary to an article of the treaty between Lacedæmon and Athens, which positively declared that neither party should form any new alliance but in concurrence with the other. Through the interest nevertheless of the party in Lacedæmon, which desired a rupture with Athens, the treaty was concluded: and, after all, the Bœotians deceived the Lacedæmonians; for, to prevent the inconvenience, which might arise to themselves, from a fortress critically situated upon their borders, instead of surrendering Panactum they destroyed it. SECT. II.

Report of the public circumstances of these transactions being quickly conveyed to Argos, without any information of the secret intrigue, occasioned great anxiety and alarm there. Not imagining the Lacedæmonian government would so immediately contravene their ingagements with Athens, after a treaty solemnly made, the terms of which were known, the Argian administration concluded that the alliance with Bœotia had been concerted with the Athenian government; that Athens of course was to be a party to the confederacy; that thus Argos would be precluded from any advantageous connection with Athens, which had always been looked to as a certain resource whenever necessity might press; and, instead of being the presiding power of a confederacy of the principal republics of the Greek nation, they should stand single to oppose Lacedæmon at the head of such a confederacy. Urged by this apprehension, they determined im- Thucyd. l. 5. c. 40.

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mediately to attempt an accommodation with Lacedæmon, and for negotiators they chose Eustrophus and Æson, the two men among them who, on account of their party-connections (for these, in every Grecian city, extended among neighboring states) were most likely to find confidence from the Lacedæmonians now in power. The negotiation is remarkable for a circumstance, which proves how far the ideäs of the rude ages were still retained in those Grecian commonwealths, which had not taken a leading part in the affairs of the nation. The object in dispute between Lacedæmon and Argos was the territory of Cynuria. The Argians demanded that the question of right to this territory, formerly theirs, but long since possessed by the Lacedæmonians, should be referred to the arbitration, either of some state, or of some individuals, who might be agreed upon by the two parties. This was positively refused. The Argians then, anxious for peace, but anxious also to maintain their claim, offered to make a truce for fifty years, without any other condition than a provision for the future discussion of the question, according to a mode of which the history of the two states furnished an example: they proposed that either party should be at liberty to call upon the other, when not ingaged in war nor afflicted with endemial sickness, to meet them in battle on the disputed lands, and the victory should finally decide the right of property: but, to prevent unnecessary slaughter, neither should pursue into the other's territory. The Lacedæmonian government, practised in extensive political negotiation for near a century, while their state had presided over the affairs of a great confederacy, received this proposal, however countenanced by the practice of former ages, as something ridiculous. But the Argian administration,

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 41.

probably not wholly unaware of the futility of such a provision, but expecting credit for it with the multitude their soverein, persevered in the requisition; and the Lacedæmonians, not thinking the matter important enough to warrant the rejection of a proposal otherwise meeting their anxious wishes, at length assented; declaring however that they could not trust the ambassadors of a democracy, so far as to consider the peace as concluded, until it should be ratified by a public act of the Argian people. This was obtained, and the peace thus completely made.

SECT. II.

Meanwhile commissioners had been sent from Lacedæmon into Bœotia, to receive the Athenian prisoners from the hands of the Bœotians, together with the fort of Panactum. When they arrived, the fort was already destroyed; and, in excuse for this, it was pretended that, according to an antient compact, between the Bœotians and Athenians, the territory of Panactum was to be the exclusive property of neither people, and cultivated by neither, but to remain a pasture for the common use of both. The prisoners were however delivered to the Lacedæmonians, who repaired with them to Athens; and, in restoring them, declared also the rasing of the fortifications of Panactum, and the retreat of the garrison, which they affected to consider as equivalent to a restitution of the place. But the Athenians, already informed of the treaty concluded by Lacedæmon with Bœotia, so repugnant to repeated professions made to Athens, were disposed to see the matter differently. Reproaches for these, and for many less important breaches or neglects of the treaty, were freely vented; the restoration of Pylus was refused; and the Lacedæmonian commissioners were obliged to return, without effecting any of the purposes of their mission.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 42.

SECTION III.

Alcibiades. A third Peloponnesian Confederacy; and Athens the leading Power.

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WHILE such was the mutual dissatisfaction between Lacedæmon and Athens, there was in the latter, as well as in the former state, a party desirous of renewing the war; and at the head of that party a new character was coming forward, singularly formed to set the world in a flame. Alcibiades son of Cleinias was yet a youth, or at least in any other city, says Thucydides, would have been esteemed too young to be admitted to a leading public situation[2]; but high birth, great connections, and extraordinary talents, gave him premature consequence. His family boasted their descent, as we learn from the words which Plato puts into the mouth of Alcibiades himself, from Eurysaces son of the Telamonian Ajax, and through him from Jupiter. His great-grandfather, named also Alcibiades, had been among the associates of Cleisthenes in expelling the Peisistratids, and restoring the commonwealth. His grandfather Cleinias had gained the honorable reward of the Aristeia, for his conduct in the first action with the fleet of Xerxes, off Artemisium, in a trireme which he had fitted at his own expence; and his father, called also Cleinias, fell in the service of his country, in the unfortunate battle of Coroneia, against the Bœotians. His mother, Deinomachë, was daughter of Megacles, head of the Alcmæonids, the first family of Athens; and by her he was nearly related to Pericles, who, on the death of his

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 43.

Plat. Alcibiad. 1. & Plut. vit. Alcib.

Isocrat. de bigis, p. 152. & p. 154. t. 3. Ch. 8. s. 4. of this Hist.

Plat. Alcib. 1. p. 112. t. 2.

[2] Thus, I think with our translator Smith, the passage is to be understood; but Duker's note may be consulted.

father, became his guardian. Unfortunately his connection with that great man did not bring those advantages of education, which might have been expected from a guardian, who so united the philosopher with the statesman, and, amid all the cares of his high situation, gave so much attention to science. Left therefore to himself, a very large patrimonial estate afforded Alcibiades means for that dissipation in pleasure, to which passions, constitutionally strong, impelled, and various circumstances contributed in an unusual degree to invite. The graces of his person are mentioned, by cotemporary writers, as very extraordinary. In the seclusion, in which the Athenian ladies lived, they could be little liable to the seduction of wit and ingaging behavior; but they were thence perhaps only the more alive to the impression of personal beauty, when sacrifices and processions afforded the scanty opportunity of mixing with the world, so far as to see, tho not to converse with, men. Alcibiades, as we are assured by Xenophon, was the object of passion and intrigue for many of the principal ladies of Athens[8]. The splendor of his fortune, and the power of those with whom he was connected, at the same time drew about him a crowd of flatterers of the other sex: Athenian citizens, allies, subjects, and strangers, vied in paying court to him; and there was danger that the intoxicating powers of adulation might have destroyed, in the bud, all hope of any valuable fruit from the singular talents of his mind.

SECT. III.

Plat. Alcib. 1. p. 122.

Plat. Conviv. Xen. Mem. Socra. l. 1. c. 2. s. 24. Plut. vit. Alcib.

[8] Διὰ μὲν κάλλος ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ σεμνῶν γυναικῶν θηρώμενος. Xen. Mem. Socr. l. 1. c. 2. s. 24. The coarseness of this expression, of an elegant writer among a refined people, has been owing to the want of intercourse between the sexes, which alone can give manners their best polish.

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In this period of his life occurred the extraordinary addition to the rest of his extraordinary fortune, to become acquainted with the philosopher Socrates. That wonderful man, who had then for some time made it his business, as it was his pleasure, gratuitously to instruct the youth of Athens in those two points, which preceding professors of science had most neglected, the duty of men to men, and, as far as uninlightened reason could discover, the duty of men to God, justly considered Alcibiades as one who deserved his peculiar care; since he was certainly one whose virtues or vices might go very far to decide the future fortune of his country. Alcibiades was not of a temper to rest satisfied with ignorance. Ambition, but still more the love of distinction than the love of power, was the ruling passion of his mind. To obtain instruction therefore, which might promote the gratification of that ruling passion, he submitted his other passions to the control of the philosopher. Consciousness of superior abilities, and ambition inflamed by flattery, had inspired Alcibiades with the purpose of putting himself forward as a public speaker, before he had attained his twentieth year: but, tho he spurned at the remonstrances of his other friends, the authority and advice of Socrates diverted him from that extravagance. A singular friendship grew between them. They were companions in peace and in war. Socrates, who was indowed by nature with a constitution of body scarcely less remarkable for its firmness than that of his mind for its powers, served a campain in Thrace with Alcibiades, then in earliest manhood. The soldier-sage, yielding to none in courage in the day of battle, was the admiration of all for his patience, in want, fatigue, and the cold of that severe climate. Alcibiades was his

Plat. Alcib. & Conviv.

Plat. Conviv. p. 219. t. 3. Isocrat. de bigis, p. 154. t. 3.

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most zealous emulator; but in action it was particularly his aim to outdo him. In a battle near Potidæa, apparently that in which the generals, Xenophon son of Euripides, and his two collegues, were killed, he was severely wounded, and would have lost his life, but for the protection given him by Socrates, who fought by his side. The daring exertion of Alcibiades, which had led him into the danger, was deemed by the principal officers of the army, perhaps a little partial, says Plutarch, to his high rank and high connections, to deserve the Aristeia. The generous youth, just to the superior merit of his master, declared they were much rather due to Socrates: but the philosopher, adding the authority of his voice to that of the officers, the reward was given as it was first decreed. Alcibiades returned the benefit, in the unfortunate battle of Delium, where he saved Socrates, as we have already seen, from the swords of the pursuing Bœotians.

Ch. 15. s. 2. of this Hist.

Plut. vit. Alcib. Plat. Conviv. p. 220. t. 3.

Ch. 16. s. 3. of this Hist.

But the passions of Alcibiades were too strong for constant perseverance in submission to the advice of his incomparable friend. His predominant passion, the desire of preëminence in everything, was not to be subdued. No sooner had he acquired possession of his estate, than the splendor of his style of living became such, as in Athens had been utterly unknown. Much as things differed from those in our time and country, we may form some ideä of his extravagant magnificence from one circumstance, related by the authentic pen of Thucydides. It had before been esteemed a splendid exertion, for the greatest individual citizen, to send one chariot to contend in the races at the Olympian festival; it was reckoned creditable for a commonwealth to send one at the public expence. Alci-

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biades sent no less than seven to one meeting; where he won the first, second, and fourth honors. No commonwealth nor any prince had before done so much. In the same manner in all those public offices, which in his rank and circumstances were not to be avoided, presidencies of theatrical entertainments and athletic games, and the equipment and command of ships of war, his sumptuousness far exceeded what had been common. This ostentation, and the general splendor of his manner of living, while they attracted some friends and numerous followers, excited also much censure and many murmurs. They were considered, and with much indignation considered, by many, as repugnant to that moderation and equality, which ought to be maintained among the citizens of a democracy; while by others they were looked on with more complacency, as the most innocent way of evaporating that boiling spirit, and reducing those large means, which might otherwise have been more dangerously employed.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 16. Isocrat. de bigis, p. 158. t. 3. Plut. vit. Alcib.

In the midst of a career of dissipation and extravagance, that excited at the same time wonder, alarm, indignation, and admiration, the circumstances of the times, and even the wishes of many grave men, seem to have invited Alcibiades to put himself forward in public business. Nicias, who, since the death of Pericles, had stood at the head of the most respectable party in the commonwealth, was sinking under the turbulence of Hyperbolus, the friend of Cleon when Cleon was living, of similar birth, similar talents, similar character, and the successor to his influence among the lowest of the people. In this situation of things, the nephew of Pericles seemed the person to whom to look for an associate to the successor

Aristoph. Pax. v. 680. 690. 921. 1319. Equit. v. 1300. 1313. Nub. v. 1061. 1065. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 73. Plut. vit. Nic. & Alcib.

of Pericles; and the gravity and mild dignity of Nicias, it was hoped, might temper the too vivacious spirit of Alcibiades. SECT. III.

But Alcibiades had not yet learnt the necessity of moderation in anything. Young as he was, he would hold no second place. With his influence, derived from inheritance and connection, and assisted by talents, wealth, and profusion, popularity was much in his power; and he had no sooner determined upon being a public man, than he would in the very outset be at the head of things. It was generally important, for those who sought eminence in any Grecian commonwealth, to have political connections among the other states of Greece. The family of Alcibiades were, from antient times, hereditary public guests of Lacedæmon, and they had been connected by private hospitality with some of the first Lacedæmonian families. Alcibiades was a Laconic name; first given, among the Athenians to the great-grandfather of the pupil of Socrates, in compliment to a Spartan family, with which the Athenian was connected in close friendship. But the interference of the Lacedæmonians in favor of the Peisistratids, which we have heretofore had occasion to notice, would be likely to excite the indignation of an associate of Cleisthenes; and accordingly the elder Alcibiades, with those ceremonies which custom prescribed, as creditable among men and necessary to obviate the wrath of the gods, renounced the hereditary hospitality of his family with Sparta. His great grandson resolved to seek a renewal of that antient connection; and, as a preparatory step, was assiduous in kind attention to the Lacedæmonian prisoners in Attica. But the Lacedæmonian government, systematically indisposed to

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 43.

l. 8. c. 6.

Ch. 5. s. 5. & c. 7. s. 2. of this Hist.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 43.

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youth in political eminence, and not less systematically indisposed to the wild and luxurious extravagance of Alcibiades, slighted his advances; and when business occurred with the Athenian commonwealth, as it was necessary to communicate with some leading men, they chose rather to address themselves to Nicias or Laches.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 43.

This aversion, on the part of Lacedæmon, decided Alcibiades to a line of political conduct, adverse at the same time to Lacedæmon and to Nicias. He was about his twenty-sixth or twenty-seventh year, when he first tried the powers of his eloquence in the general assembly[4]. The affair of Panactum was his topic: he inveyed against the faithlessness of Sparta, as if the demolition of that fortress had been concerted by the Bœotians with the Lacedæmonian government. He was heard with ready attention by the Athenian people. All the opponents of the aristocratical cause were not admirers of Hyperbolus. Alcibiades, to carry his point against Nicias, professed zeal for the democratical interest; and the experience of his abilities as a speaker, added to the weight he derived from birth, property, and connection, made him presently the head of a considerable party. He continued his invective against Lacedæmon; and the league hastily made by that state with Argos, afforded fresh matter. Nothing, he said, but inimical intentions against Athens, could have induced the Lacedæmonians to form such a con-

[4] So we are told by Diodorus and Nepos; but Acacius has calculated, from several circumstances mentioned by Plato, that he must have been at least thirty. The reader who will take the pains to consult the note in the 343d page of Duker's Thucydides, will judge for himself how far to give credit to that calculation.

nection with such inveterate enemies as the Argians; their purpose could be only to deprive Athens of a valuable ally, that so they might, with better hope, renew the war. The people continued to listen with a favorable ear, and Alcibiades gained influence and authority daily. Meanwhile he had been communicating among neighboring states; he had confidential intercourse with the leading men at Argos, of the party adverse to Lacedæmon; and, finding circumstances on all sides favorable, he formed an extensive and extraordinary plan, which he began immediately to carry into execution.

B.C. 470. Ol. 89. 4. P. W. 12. Thucyd. l. 5. c. 44.

The Argian people were no sooner undeceived concerning the circumstances of the alliance between Lacedæmon and Bœotia, and the supposed participation of Athens in that measure, than they became careless about peace with Lacedæmon, and inclined much rather to renew and improve their connection with Athens; an antient ally, and, what was an important consideration, of congenial government. Upon this disposition of the Argians, Alcibiades principally founded his project. He proposed to his friends in Argos, leaders of the democratical party there, to procure that ministers should be sent to Athens from their state, from Elis, and from Mantineia; and he would then ingage to make the Athenian commonwealth a member of the Argian confederacy. His Argian friends undertook the business; the Argian people were readily persuaded to concur in it: the influence of Argos prevailed with Elis and Mantineia; and shortly ministers from all those commonwealths met in Athens.

This unexpected stroke of the young Athenian politician alarmed the Lacedæmonian government.

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Not only the negotiation of Cleobulus and Xenares, from which such important advantages had been expected, was likely to be thwarted, but there was apparent danger that Athens might become the leading power of the very confederacy, at the head of which it was the direct purpose of that negotiation to establish Lacedæmon. Anxious to obviate this, they sent an embassy to Athens, carefully composed of persons the most likely to be well received there; of whom Endius was a hereditary friend and guest of the family of Alcibiades. The ambassadors were instructed to apologize for the treaty with Bœotia, as a measure neither in intention or effect injurious to Athens; to demand the surrender of Pylus in return for the evacuation of Panactum; and by all means to obviate any league of Athens with Argos.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 45. Plut. vit. Alcib. & Nic.

On their arrival at Athens, having audience from the council of Fivehundred, whose office, in time of war nearly superseded by that of general of the commonwealth, had now resumed its importance, they found reason to promise themselves a favorable issue to their negotiation. This would not only ruin the immediate project of Alcibiades, but would go far to establish the power of the opposite party in Athens; and no common policy, nor perhaps any honorable policy, could prevent such consequences. Alcibiades was ingenious, and not scrupulous. He ingaged the Lacedæmonian ambassadors in a private conference, in which he persuaded them by no means to acknowlege before the Athenian people, the fulness of the powers with which they were vested: they would find, he said, the arrogance of the multitude insupportable; and the only way to check the most unreasonable demands would be to deny their pleni-

potentiary commission. If they would only take his advice in this matter, his opposition should cease, and he would even become the advocate of their cause. The reasoning, in itself plausible, was urged in a manner so plausible, and with such professions and protestations, that the Lacedæmonians implicitly assented to it. SECT. III.

Next day they had their audience of the assembled Athenian people. After they had declared the purpose of their mission, Alcibiades put the question to them, 'Whether they came with full 'powers, or with limited?' and they answered, 'that they were limited by instructions.' The members of the council, whom they had assured that their commission was plenipotentiary, were astonished at this reply: Nicias, with whom they had not had the precaution to communicate, was astonished; but presently the ambassadors themselves were still more astonished, when Alcibiades reproached them as guilty of gross and shameful prevarication, and concluded a harangue, the most virulent against Lacedæmon, and the most soothing and alluring to the Athenian people, with proposing the question for ingaging the Athenian commonwealth in the Argian alliance. His daring and well-conducted treachery would, in the opinion of Thucydides, have had full success in the instant, but for an accident, which alarmed the superstition, at the same time that it excited the natural fears, of the Athenian people. The city was, in the moment, shaken by an earthquake; no mischief followed; but the assembly was immediately adjourned.

The delay of a day thus gained, giving time for passion to cool and reflection to take place, was advantageous to the views of Nicias. In the as-

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sembly held on the morrow, urging that the people ought not to decide hastily, and in the midst of uncertainty, concerning a matter of very great importance, he prevailed so far against Alcibiades, that, instead of immediately concluding the alliance with Argos, it was determined first to send an embassy to Lacedæmon, of which Nicias himself was appointed chief. But the measure which Alcibiades could not prevent, he contrived to render ineffectual; or, rather, to convert to the promotion of his own purposes. The embassy to Lacedæmon being voted, instructions for the ambassadors were to be considered; and it was resolved, that the restoration of the fort of Panactum, the immediate delivery of Amphipolis into the power of the Athenian people, and a renuntiation, on the part of Lacedæmon, of the alliance with Bœotia, or, instead of it, the accession of Bœotia to the terms of the late peace, should be preliminary conditions, without assent to which, in their fullest extent, nothing should be concluded. The year of magistracy of the ephor Xenares was yet unexpired, and the party of Xenares still prevailed. The Bœotian alliance had been the measure of that party: the requisition of a renuntiation of it was of course ill received; and Nicias and his collegues were obliged to return to Athens without obtaining, either for their commonwealth or for themselves, any one object of their mission.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 46.

Indignation would not unnaturally arise upon such an occasion among the Athenian people; and art was not wanting, and pains were not spared, to inflame it. The party of Alcibiades thus gained an accession of strength, which gave it a decided superiority in the assembly. The Argian and Eleian ministers were still at Athens, and a league offen-

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sive and defensive, for a hundred years, with their republics, the dependent allies of each contracting power (such nearly is the expression of Thucydides[5]) being included, was proposed and carried: it was agreed that pillars of marble, with the treaty ingraved, should be erected, at the separate expence of each republic, at Athens in the citadel, at Argos in the temple of Apollo in the agora, and at Mantineia in the temple of Jupiter; and that a brazen pillar, with the treaty also ingraved, should be placed, at the common expence of the confederacy, at Olympia. By this extraordinary stroke in politics, Athens, and no longer Lacedæmon, was the leading power even of the Dorian states, and head of the principal confederacy in Peloponnesus itself.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 47.

SECTION IV.

Implication of Interests of the principal Grecian Republics. Continuation of Dispute between Lacedæmon and Elis. Affairs of the Lacedæmonian Colony of Heracleia. Alcibiades elected General; Importance of the Office of General of the Athenian Commonwealth; Influence of Alcibiades in Peloponnesus: War of Argos and Epidaurus. Inimical Conduct of Athens toward Lacedæmon.

SECT. IV.

By the several treaties now lately made, the interests of the principal Grecian republics were strangely implicated. Inimical to Sparta as the late transaction of the Athenian commonwealth certainly was, and not less in direct contravention of subsisting ingagements with Athens as the treaty a little before concluded by Lacedæmon with Bœotia appears, the alliance between Lacedæmon and Athens nevertheless subsisted. At the same time

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 48.

[5] Συμμάχων ὧν ἄρχουσιν.

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Corinth, ingaged in confederacy with Argos, Elis, and Mantineia, refused to concur with those states in the Athenian alliance; inclining rather to renew its old connection with Lacedæmon, then at open hostility with Elis, and scarcely upon better terms with the other states of the confederacy.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 49.

Meanwhile the Eleians, conceiving themselves grossly injured by the Lacedæmonians in the affair of Lepreum, and unable to vindicate their claim by arms, had recourse to the authority derived from their sacred character and their presidency over the Olympian festival. Before the Olympian tribunal, composed of their own principal citizens, they accused the Lacedæmonians of prosecuting hostilities after the commencement of the Olympian armistice; and sentence was pronounced, according to the Olympian law, condemning the Lacedæmonian commonwealth in a fine of two thousand mines, between seven and eight thousand pounds sterling; being two mines for every soldier employed. The Lacedæmonian government, more anxious, on account of the late turn in Grecian politics, to clear themselves of offence against the common laws and common religion of Greece, declared that they would submit to the penalty, had they or their officers been guilty of the crime; but they insisted that, when the hostilities complained of were committed, the armistice had not been made known to them by the customary proclamation. In the irregularity and uncertainty of the Grecian year, proclamation only could ascertain to each republic when the armistice was to begin. The Eleians maintained that, according to antient constant custom, it was proclaimed first within their own territory; that then they held themselves immediately bound to abstain from hostilities against others; and rea-

son, not less than the Olympian law, required that they should then be exempt from injury by hostility from any member of the Greek nation. The Lacedæmonians still insisted that they ought not to be fined for an involuntary crime. The Eleians maintained that the sentence was just, and could not be reversed or altered; but, if the Lacedæmonians would restore Lepreum, which had been so injuriously and impiously seized, they would not only remit the portion of the fine due to themselves, but also pay for the Lacedæmonians that due to the god. The Lacedæmonian government positively refusing both to restore Lepreum, and to pay the fine, the Eleians declared the whole Lacedæmonian people excluded both from contending in the games at the approaching festival, and from partaking in the sacrifices; not however forbidding their attendance as spectators. SECT. IV. Thucyd. l. 5. c. 50.

It was apprehended that the high spirit of the Lacedæmonian people, long accustomed to give law to Peloponnesus and to Greece, might not acquiesce under this decision, excluding them from the common religious solemnities of the Greek nation. To obviate violence, therefore, the whole youth of Elis attended during the festival in arms; and a thousand heavy-armed Argians, as many Mantineians, and a body of Athenian horse, came to assist in keeping the peace. Such a measure might alone indicate how hardly the peace of Greece was to be kept. But, with all this precaution, an occurrence at the games excited general apprehension. Leichas, a Lacedæmonian, had a chariot prepared for the race; and not to be disappointed, excluded as he was from entering it in his own name, he obtained permission to enter it in the name of the Bœotian people. As a public chariot of Bœotia, it Ol. 90. After July 3.

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won. But the vanity of Leichas was not to be so satisfied: to make it known to whom the victorious chariot reälly belonged, he stepped forward before the assembly, and placed a chaplet on the head of his charioteer. The rod-bearers, whose office it was to inforce order, as in the roughness of Grecian manners, amid republican equality, it seems they were authorized to do, without any consideration for the dignity of the man or of his city, struck Leichas in presence of the assembly[6]. Such an affront, however, to a Lacedæmonian citizen, it was feared might bring a Lacedæmonian army to Olympia: but the Lacedæmonian government, not subject to passionate counsels, overlooked the offence to an individual, and the affair had no immediate consequence.

After the conclusion of the festival, Corinth became the seat of political negotiation. The Argians sent ministers thither to press the accession of the Corinthian state to the new confederacy. The Lacedæmonian government, judging it necessary to counterwork the various intrigues carrying on to their disadvantage, sent also ministers to Corinth. After much negotiation through the summer, to little or no effect, the terrors of an earthquake, of which however no mischief is reported, occasioned the dissolution of the congress.

The affairs of the Lacedæmonian colony of Heracleia continue to ingage notice, as they contribute to characterize the state of Greece. The people

[6] It is sometimes difficult to estimate the exact value of words and phrases in a dead language, when it depends on laws and customs of which we are not exactly informed. The manner in which Lysias tells this story would rather give to suppose that Leichas was formally condemned to receive a public whipping, which was inflicted accordingly; and the phrase of Thucydides will bear that meaning.

SECT. IV.

of Trachinia and its neighborhood had never forgiven the gross trespass committed upon the rights and property of a Grecian people, by those who assumed the title of protectors of Grecian liberty, and they disturbed Heracleia with continual hostilities. Success had been various; but in this autumn the Heracleians were defeated in battle, with such loss, that the survivors scarcely sufficed for the defence of their walls and of the property necessary to their subsistence. In the next spring therefore the Bœotians, fearing that, while the Lacedæmonians were intent upon their nearer interests in Peloponnesus, the Athenians might seize Heracleia, took upon themselves to direct its affairs, and to send away the Lacedæmonian governor Hegisippidas, as unfit for his command. The Lacedæmonian government, not a little dissatisfied with this species of kindness, had however too much upon their hands to take immediately any active measures for vindicating their dominion over their colony.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 51.

After 30 Sept.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 52. B.C. 419. Ol. 90. 1. P. W. 13.

While these transactions ingaged some of the principal states, Alcibiades had been prosecuting intrigue, ably and successfully, within and without Attica. His measures at home procured his election to the high office of general-in-chief of the commonwealth; an occasional office, created only in times of supposed emergency; but which, beside the importance of the military command, carried with it, not nominally indeed but effectually, greater civil power than any of the permanent magistracies, or than all of them: for the general, having the right to assemble the people at all times, had no occasion to consult any other council; so that, as long as he could command a majority in the assembly, he was supreme and sole director of the executive government. Nearly absolute sovereign thus

B.C. 419. Ol. 90. 1. P. W. 13.

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in Athens, he was hardly less so in Argos, and his influence extended widely among other states in Peloponnesus. In the beginning of summer, having previously concerted matters with the leading men of the Argian administration, he went, with a small escort of heavy-armed and bowmen to Argos, whence, with an addition of Peloponnesian troops, he made a progress through the cities of the confederacy within the peninsula; and, with plenitude of assumed power, arranged matters everywhere so as to give a decided superiority to the party which favored his views. To confirm the democratical interest in the little city of Patræ in Achaia, he persuaded the people to connect their town with their port by fortifications, which would bring them more immediately within the protection of the Athenian fleet. A similar measure, proposed at the Achaian Rhium was prevented by the Sicyonians and Corinthians.

Among these turns in Greoian politics, the little republic of Epidaurus, a dismembered branch of the antient Argolic state, was firm in the Lacedæmonian alliance. Epidaurus, always obnoxious, would, in the event of the expected war with Lacedæmon, be particularly annoying to Argos; being so situated that it would very much interrupt communication with Athens: for if the Corinthians, who were now dubious, should become adverse, the passage could be made only by sea, round the Scyllæan promontory; and this, in case of a serious attack from Lacedæmon, would make assistance from Athens to Argos slow and precarious. A pretext, of whimsical appearance in modern times, was found for making war upon Epidaurus: it was the neglect to send a victim to a temple of the Pythian Apollo, in the Argian territory, due as a quit-rent

for some pastures held of Argos by the Epidaurians. On this ground it was proposed to subdue Epidaurus; and measures were concerted with Alcibiades for the purpose. SECT. IV.

Meanwhile preparation was made by the Lacedæmonian government, as for some very important enterprize, the object of which was kept a profound secret. Troops were required of the allies, without any intimation of the purpose. Such requisitions are more than once mentioned by Thucydides; and they strongly indicate the importance of that supremacy which subordinate states acknowleged in the head of their confederacy. The whole force of Laconia marched, under the command of king Agis, to Leuctra, on the borders; where, according to the constant practice of the Greeks, before they would move in arms beyond their own territory, the diabaterial or border-passing sacrifice was performed. The symptoms of the victims being, on this occasion, declared by the priests unfavorable, after all the pomp and all the labor and expence of preparation, Agis immediately dismissed the allies and led the Lacedæmonian forces home. The allies were however directed to hold themselves in readiness to march again, immediately after the conclusion of the approaching festival of Carneia. Thucyd. l. 5. c. 54.

The Argians, before restrained by the alarm of the great preparations made by Lacedæmon, determined to use the opportunity, now so unexpectedly allowed them, for prosecuting their purpose against Epidaurus, for which the Carneian festival was particularly commodious. The Carneian was a festival common to all the Dorians, and one of the principal of their calendar. Its ceremonies were mostly military, and, for the celebration, which lasted many days, a camp was always formed. The Argians,

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tho they chose their time well, seem to have concerted their measures ill; but the measures of their opponents were still more defective, and tend, among numberless circumstances occurring in Grecian history, to show both the inconvenience of the Grecian religious festivals, and the inefficiency of league among the Grecian republics for preserving internal security and domestic quiet. Four days
14 Aug. before the holidays, the Argians entered the Epidaurian lands in arms, and immediately commenced plunder. The Epidaurians sent to their allies for succour. Some excused themselves on account of the festival; which, as they affirmed, they were religiously bound to celebrate: some came as far as the Epidaurian borders and halted: none gave any effectual assistance. At this very time a convention of deputies of the several states of the Argian alliance was sitting at Mantineia, assembled at the requisition of the Athenian government, for the professed purpose of negotiating a general peace. Intelligence of the attack upon Epidaurus was quickly communicated there, and the Corinthian deputy (for Epidaurus was among the allies of Corinth) remonstrated warmly against it. The Argians in consequence withdrew their troops, but the convention separated soon after without concluding anything; and the Argians recommenced hostilities, which were continued, but with little effect, through the remainder of the summer.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 55.

c. 56. A reïnforcement of three hundred men, which passed by sea from Laconia to Epidaurus in the following winter, produced a very remarkable remonstrance from the Argian to the Athenian government. In the treaty of alliance between the two states, it was stipulated that neither should permit the enemies of the other to pass through its

dominion. The Argian administration accused the Athenian of contravening this article, by permitting the Lacedæmonians to pass by sea to Epidaurus. This may seem to have been dictated by Alcibiades, and to mark the extraordinary extent of his influence in Argos; for, under the semblance of a remonstrance, it was reälly an acknowlegement that the Grecian seas, even to the very shores of Peloponnesus, were the dominion of Athens. The reparation which they required for this injury would appear, in modern times, scarcely less extraordinary than the accusation: it was, that the Athenians should withdraw the Athenian garrison from Pylus, and replace there the Messenians and Helots who had been removed to Cephallenia. Apparently this requisition was concerted with Alcibiades, or perhaps suggested by him; for he was the mover of the measures which followed in Athens. A decree of the people directed, that, on the column on which was ingraved the late treaty with Lacedæmon, a clause should be added, declaring that the Lacedæmonians had broken the treaty. This being taken as the ground, it was then commanded, by the same decree, that the Messenians and Helots, lately removed to Cranë in Cephallenia, should be reëstablished in Pylus.

In the course of the winter many skirmishes passed between the Argians and the Epidaurians, but no important action; and an attempt toward spring, to take Epidaurus by escalade, failed.

SECTION V.

War of Lacedæmon and Argos: Battle near Mantinea: Siege of Epidaurus.

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Thucyd. l. 5. c. 17.

THE Lacedæmonians could not, without extreme uneasiness, consider the present state of things in Peloponnesus, not only as their own command and influence were diminished, but as what they had lost had accrued to their rivals of Athens and Argos. By midsummer of this year, the continued pressure of the Argian arms, however defectively conducted, had reduced the Epidaurians, old and still faithful allies of Lacedæmon, to great distress. Some effort must be made, or all command and influence in Peloponnesus, beyond their own territory, would be gone. It was only to sound the trumpet, and the whole Lacedæmonian people were at any time assembled, ready for service. The allies yet remaining to the state were summoned; and the Lacedæmonian army, strengthened with the greatest force of Helots that could be trusted, marched under the command of king Agis. They were presently joined by the Tegeans, and all those other Arcadians who had not, with the Mantineians, renounced the Lacedæmonian alliance: Phlius was the appointed place of junction for the allies, equally those within and those without Peloponnesus. No less than five thousand heavy-armed, as many light, and five hundred horse, with a foot-soldier attending every horseman, marched from Bœotia[7]; Corinth sent two thousand heavy-armed; Sicyon, Pal-

B.C. 418. Ol. 90. 3. P. W. 14.

[7] What those attending foot-soldiers were, whom Thucydides distinguishes by the name of ἄμιππος, we are informed only by late writers, whose authority seems very doubtful.

lenē, Epidaurus, and Megara, all they could spare, and the Phliasians were prepared to join with their whole strength. SECT. V.

The Argians, quickly informed of these movements, dispatched to their allies urgent requisitions of assistance. Accordingly the Mantineians joined them with their whole force, the amount of which Thucydides does not specify: the Eleians sent three thousand heavy-armed. Thus in consequence of the successful treachery of Alcibiades, Peloponnesus was divided at arms within itself; while Athens, preparing indeed assistance for her ally, but risking little, looked on, and injoyed the storm. Thucyd. l. 5. c. 58.

The Argians, being joined by the Mantineians and Eleians, proposed to prevent the junction of the Lacedæmonians with their northern allies; and with that view took a position near Methydrium in Arcadia. It was evening when Agis incamped on a hill overagainst them, as if intending to ingage next morning; but moving silently in the night, he passed on unperceived so as to secure his way to Phlius. The Argians had then to expect the invasion of their country by the whole combined force of the enemy. To prevent this, they moved to a position on the road of Nemea; the only way by which a numerous army could conveniently pass the mountains, which divide Argolis from Phliasia and Corinthia. Agis, by apparently a very able disposition, rendered this measure fruitless. Leading the Lacedæmonians by a rough and difficult mountain-road, he entered the Argian plain unopposed, and placed himself between the Argian army and Argos. The Corinthians, Phliasians, and Pallenians, by another road, also difficult and

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little practised, entered another part of the plain, equally unresisted. The Bœotians, Megarians, and Sicyonians only were sent by the Nemean road, with orders to avoid ingaging, unless the enemy should move against either of the divisions in the plain. In that case the Bœotian horse, more numerous than that of the enemy, if indeed the enemy had any, might find opportunity to attack with advantage.

These well-judged movements being all successfully executed, the Argian army was surrounded by a force so superior, that its destruction seemed inevitable. Thrasyllus, one of the five generals of Argos, saw the peril of his situation: he communicated upon it with Alciphron, an Argian of rank, connected by hospitality with Lacedæmon, and they determined together upon a measure which would appear very extraordinary in itself, and scarcely credible in its success, if we were not already somewhat familiarized with Grecian politics. They went privately to Agis, and, pledging themselves to lead their state to alliance with Lacedæmon, upon terms that should be satisfactory, they prevailed with him to grant upon the spot, of his sole authority, a truce for four months; and, to the astonishment of the Lacedæmonian army, orders were immediately issued for retreat.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 60.

By this negotiation, fortunate as it was bold, Thrasyllus and Alciphron hoped to acquire such favor among the Argian people as might inable them to promote at the same time their two objects, the oligarchal interest and the Lacedæmonian alliance. They were, however, utterly disappointed. The Argian people, and even their commanders, totally unpractised in war upon any extensive scale, were so unaware of the danger from which they had

been rescued, that they imagined they had been deprived of a most favorable opportunity for crushing the Lacedæmonians; inclosed, they imagined inadvertently, between the allied army and the garrison of Argos. The public indignation, stimulated apparently by the democratical leaders, rose so high, that Thrasyllus saved his life only through the protection of an altar to which he fled, and a decree of the people declared all his property confiscated. SECT. V.

Presently after the retreat of the Lacedæmonians, the auxiliary force from Athens arrived at Argos; a thousand Athenian heavy-armed and three hundred horse, commanded by Laches and Nicostratus. The oligarchal party in Argos, tho unable to protect Thrasyllus against the momentary rage of the people, were nevertheless strong; and they would immediately have dismissed the Athenian forces, as no longer wanted in Peloponnesus for any purpose of the confederacy. But Alcibiades was too watchful a politician to suffer his purposes to be so baffled, and the important alliance of Argos to pass from him. Quickly informed of all circumstances, he went to Argos in quality of ambassador, and, in conjunction with the two generals, demanded an audience of the Argian people. The oligarchal Argians very unwillingly consented, and not without a degree of compulsion from their Mantineian and Eleian allies, who were still present. The eloquence of Alcibiades then prevailed. The Argian people felt his reproaches for breach of faith with Athens, gave credit to his representations of the strength of the confederacy, and of the circumstances now peculiarly favorable for prosecuting the war; and, a proposal being suggested for striking an important stroke with little risk, it was summarily resolved upon. Hostages had been taken by

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 61.

After 11th July.

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the Lacedæmonians from some Arcadian towns of their alliance, whose fidelity they doubted, and had been placed in custody of the Orchomenians, whom they thought firm. The allied army instantly marched to Orchomenus. The fortifications of that little city were weak; the people were alarmed by the greatness of the force preparing to attack them, and, apprehensive that they might be overpowered before succour could arrive, they insured present safety by an early capitulation. Surrendering the hostages committed to their charge, and giving hostages of their own people, they were admitted members of the Argian alliance.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 62.

This stroke being thus rapidly struck, the question was agitated, to what object the allied army should next be directed. The Eleians were urgent for Lepreum; but the recovery of Lepreum, however desirable for the Eleians, little interested the other allies. The Mantineians therefore proposing the far more important acquisition of Tegea; and giving assurance that they had intelligence with a party in that city, which would favor the enterprize, the Argians and Athenians concurred with them. The Eleians were so dissatisfied with this preference of the great concerns of the confederacy to the particular interest of their state, that they marched home. The rest of the allied army prepared to go against Tegea.

c. 63.

The Lacedæmonians, more reasonably displeased with their prince than the Argians with their general, had been however more temperate in their anger. While peace was the apparent consequence of his measure, the public discontent vented itself only in expressions of disapprobation. But when instead of breaking the force of Argos by one blow, or even taking the city, to which some thought the

opportunity might have extended, they found, on the contrary, great advantage given to the enemy, an allied city of some importance lost, and their pledges for the fidelity of the rest of Arcadia taken from them, Agis was called to account with a degree of passion not usual, says Thucydides, with the Lacedæmonians. He was upon the point of being judicially condemned in a fine amounting to more than four thousand pounds sterling[8], and moreover to suffer the indignity of, what was otherwise probably no very important loss, having his house levelled with the ground. But consideration for his former assiduity in service, with his unblameable deportment on all occasions, and respect for the blood of Hercules and the dignity of the Spartan government, at length prevailed. His intreaty to be allowed an opportunity of proving, by future conduct, that he had not deserved such severe censure, was granted, and he resumed the command of the army, but not without a limitation never before put upon Spartan kings: ten persons were appointed to be his military council, without whose concurrence he was not to lead the forces beyond the Lacedæmonian dominion. For the detail of military operation, however, he seems to have been intrusted with the usual authority. SECT. V.

Meanwhile intelligence arrived at Lacedæmon, from the party yet ruling in Tegea, that, if assistance was not quickly given, their opponents of the democratical interest would prevail, and that important city would be annexed to the Argian confederacy. The whole force of Laconia was in consequence assembled, with unexampled celerity, and marched immediately. The Arcadian allies were Thucyd. l. 5. c. 64.

[8] A hundred thousand drachmæ.

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required to hasten to Tegea, and expresses were dispatched to Corinth, Bœotia, and as far as Phocis and Locris, for the forces of those provinces to meet the Lacedæmonian army before Mantineia. Tegea was quickly put into a state of security; and then the Lacedæmonians, with their Arcadian allies, entered the Mantineian lands, and the usual ravage of Grecian armies followed.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 65.

The views of the confederates upon Tegea being thus checked, nothing remained for them but to retreat and leave their own country open to extensive waste, or to risk a battle. They determined upon the latter, and, approaching the Lacedæmonian army, occupied some strong ground, where they formed. Agis, eager to do away the disgrace he had incurred, took the earliest moment for leading his forces to action. He was already within arrow's flight of the enemy, when one of the elder officers[9] called aloud to him, in the terms of a Greek proverb, 'that he was going to mend evil with evil[10]:' meaning that, to atone for his former ill-judged retreat, he was now rushing to an inconsiderate and ruinous attack. Seeing presently the justness of the admonition, and incouraged by it to the measure which prudence required, tho rashness or acrimony might blame, Agis instantly gave orders to halt, and then drew off without ingaging.

c. 66.

Whatever, on the other hand, might have been the abilities of the Argian generals, and it appears they were considerable, the democratical weight in the Argian government would have rendered them of little avail. The generals wished to hold their

[9] Τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τις, which might mean one of the council appointed to advise him, or possibly only one of the elder officers of his army.

[10] Κακὸν κακῷ ἰᾶσθαι.

present advantageous ground: but the troops, little practised in military subordination, and impatient of rest and delay, grew tumultuous, and accused them of traitorously permitting a flying enemy to escape. Unable otherwise to compose the disorder, they marched after the Spartan king. This was precisely what Agis desired: and to provoke it, he had been employing his troops in diverting the course of a mountain-stream, so as to damage the Mantineian lands. Being informed that the confederates nevertheless persevered in holding their strong post, he was returning, without due precaution, toward the hills, when he suddenly met them advancing in order of battle along the plain. Never, says Thucydides, was such consternation known in a Lacedæmonian army. The excellence of the Lacedæmonian discipline, however, inabled the king to form his order of battle in a shorter time than would have been possible with any other troops then in the known world; and, before the attack could be made, they were prepared to receive it. SECT. V.

The Argians and their allies, after a short exhortation from the several commanders, rushed forward with fury. The Lacedæmonians, continues the cotemporary historian, use speeches of exhortation less than any other Greeks; well knowing that discipline, long and carefully practised, gives more confidence to troops than any harangue, however fine and however ingeniously adapted to the occasion. To the astonishment of the confederates, who had observed with joy the tumult occasioned by the first alarm, they were seen presently in perfect order, silent and without hurry, stepping in exact time to the sound of numerous flutes, and thus preserving their front compact and even, without any breaking or floating, the seldom failing defects of extensive Thucyd. l. 5. c. 69, 70.

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lines[11]. The numbers, on either side, Thucydides professes that he could not learn with certainty; thus teaching us what credit is due to writers incomparably farther removed from means of information, who pretend to state with precision the force of contending armies. The extent, however, of the Lacedæmonian front evinced their superiority; and the two armies were the most numerous that ever, within the bounds of tradition, had met in Peloponnesus. On the Argian side the Athenian, of the other army the Lacedæmonian, was the only cavalry. Indeed the Lacedæmonians seem to have been the only Peloponnesian people who, at this time, had any cavalry.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 71.

In all actions among the antients, the right, on both sides, commonly overstretched the left of the opposing army. For, ingaging hand to hand, the shield, the principal defence, being borne on the left arm, was less a protection for the right side; and the soldier in the extreme of the right wing, to avoid exposing the undefended part of his body, would always rather incline to the right. The man then next on the left, and so every man in the line, would also press rather toward the right, to profit from the protection of his neighbor's shield. Thus,

[11] It is Thucydides's description of the march of the Lacedæmonian phalanx, upon this occasion, that Milton has imitated in the first book of the Paradise Lost:

- - - - - - - - - Rose
A forest huge of spears; and thronging helms
Appear'd and serried shields in thick array,
Of depth immeasurable. Anon they move,
In perfect phalanx, to the Dorian mood
Of flutes and soft recorders; such as raised
To highth of noblest temper heroes old,
Arming to battel, and, instead of rage,
Deliberate valor breathed, firm, and unmoved
With dread of death to flight or foul retreat.

on the present occasion, it happened that before the armies met, the Mantineians, on the right of the Argian line, had considerably overstretched the Lacedæmonian left; and, on the other side, the Tegeans, on the right of the Lacedæmonian line (the Lacedæmonian front being of greater extent) had still more overstretched the Argian left. Agis, observing this, when the armies were only not ingaged, inconsiderately ordered a movement, with a view to remedy the inconvenience which he apprehended. The Skirite and Brasidian bands (by the latter name those soldiers were honorably distinguished who had fought under Brasidas in Thrace) forming the left of the Lacedæmonian line, were directed to break away from the main body, so far as to prevent the Mantineians from taking the army in flank; and two lochi of Lacedæmonians, under the polëmarcs Hipponoïdas and Aristocles, were commanded, from another part, to fill the interval. The Skirites and Brasidians instantly obeyed: but Hipponoïdas and Aristocles, whether the enemy were so near that it was impossible, or they thought the danger of the movement to the whole army would justify their disobedience, kept their former post. The Skirites and Brasidians therefore, being presently attacked by the whole force of the Mantineians, together with a thousand chosen Argians, were cut off from their main body, overpowered, compelled to retreat, and pursued to the baggage of their army. SECT. V. Thucyd. l. 5. c. 72.

Meanwhile the rest of the line of the Lacedæmonians had everywhere the advantage, and particularly in the center, where Agis himself took post. The Argian center scarcely came to action with him, but fled the onset. The Athenians thus, who formed the left of the confederate line, were completely c. 73.

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deserted; the center having fled, while the right was pursuing. Their total destruction must have followed, but for the protection given to their retreat by their own cavalry, whose services on that day were eminent. Even thus, however, they would scarcely have been inabled to save themselves, had not the defeat of the Skirites and Brasidians called the attention of the Lacedæmonian king. The victorious Mantineians, when they found the rest of their army defeated, avoided his attack by hasty retreat.

Agis, true to the institutions of Lycurgus, pursued no farther than to make victory sure. The killed therefore were not numerous in proportion to the numbers ingaged and the completeness of the success: seven hundred Argians, two hundred Mantineians, and two hundred Athenians, among whom both the generals fell, are the numbers of the confederates reported by Thucydides. Of the Lacedæmonians about three hundred were killed, principally Brasidians and Skirites; and of the allies of Lacedæmon a very small number, as they were little ingaged. After collecting the spoil of the field and erecting their trophy, the Lacedæmonians carried their dead to Tegea, and intombed them ceremoniously. The enemy's dead were restored, on the usual application from the vanquished.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 75.

The other Spartan king, Pleistoanax, had advanced as far as Tegea, with an army composed of Lacedæmonians above and under the age for forein service, to be ready in case of misfortune, to support Agis. Immediately upon receiving information of the victory, he returned; and at the same time messengers were dispatched to Corinth, and the more distant allies, to countermand the march of

their troops. The victorious army, after paying honorable attendance upon the obsequies of the slain, returned home, and the great Doric festival of the Carneia, whose period was at hand, ingrossed the public attention. SECT. V.

The event of this battle restored the Lacedæmonian character in Greece. The advantage of numbers, indeed, had been on the side of the Lacedæmonians; but the circumstances of the action proved their superiority in discipline, and in that valor which discipline infuses, by giving individuals to confide in the combined exertions of numbers with whom they act. This discipline in the soldier, we find, was, in the late battle, of efficacy even to counterbalance defective precaution and defective judgement in the general; while the want of it in the confederate army rendered superior abilities in the commanders of no effect[12]. The misfortunes, the misconduct, and the apparent slackness of the

[12] Thus much may be gathered from Thucydides's account of the battle. But his opinion is farther delivered in a remark upon it, in a manner sufficiently intelligible, tho in cautious and rather obscure terms: Ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δὴ κατὰ πάντα τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐλασσωθέντες τότε, τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ ἔδειξαν οὐκ ἧσσον περιγενόμενοι. Thucyd. l. 5. c. 72. 'But on this occasion, more 'remarkably than ever, the Lacedæmonians, tho in all respects 'outdone in the military art, gave signal proofs of their supe-'riority in true manly valor.' Thus Smith has translated, aiming to follow the letter, and certainly missing the sense. Thucydides could not mean here to speak disrespectfully of that military art and discipline of the Lacedæmonians, which, in the preface to his account of this very battle, he has taken occasion to describe, admirable in theory, and well supported by practice; and which, in his account of the battle itself, he shows to have been not less admirable in effect. Κατὰ πάντα must have been intended to relate to the circumstances of the battle, and not to any circumstances of the military art; and by ἐμπειρία has been meant the experience and science of the general, and not the skill of the soldier. A strong sense of delicacy, not less a characteristic of Thucydides than his scrupulous impartiality, has apparently prevented him from expressing his opinion on this occasion more openly.

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Lacedæmonians, in the course of the war with Athens, were in consequence no longer attributed to any degeneracy in the people, but to the mismanagement of leaders, and the chance of war: a contempt, which had been gaining, for the Spartan institutions and discipline, as if hitherto respected above their worth, was done away; and the Spartan character resumed its wonted superiority.

But the Carneian festival occupied the Lacedæmonians at a very inconvenient season for a military people. Regulated, as all the Grecian festivals, by the revolutions of the moon, it began this year about the seventh of August. Its principal ceremonies lasted nine days: but the whole month, named among the Dorian Greeks the Carneian, was, in a degree, dedicated to religious festivity. In the rude ages of the Heracleids and of Lycurgus, this check to military enterprize might be salutary: but in days of more refined and extensive policy, when wars, not of choice, but of political necessity, might be to be maintained against states capable of supporting lasting hostilities, such avocations should no longer have been allowed to interrupt public business. The Lacedæmonians were, however, so attached to their antient institutions, that, till the period of the Carneia was completed, no military operations were prosecuted for profiting from the victory of Mantineia.

Dodw. Ann. Thu.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 76.

Soon after that event, the arrival of a thousand Athenian and three thousand Eleian heavy-armed to join the Argian army, inhanced the regret and indignation of all thinking men in the Argian confederacy, at that petulant impatience and unadvised rashness, inherent in democratical government, which had superinduced their defeat. So powerful a reïnforcement, seconding superior abilities in

the generals, could those abilities have been effectually exerted, might have given the advantage over the ill-directed discipline of the Lacedæmonians. Offensive operations were immediately resumed; not indeed directly against Lacedæmon, but against their allies on the other side of the peninsula. The Epidaurians, objects hitherto of unjust ambition and oppressive policy, had now made themselves objects of revenge; entering the Argian territory, while its principal force was absent, wasted the country, and slaughtered the inferior troops appointed to its protection. The siege of Epidaurus was regularly formed, and while the Lacedæmonians were supinely intent upon their festival, a contravallation was completed. Winter then approaching, a sufficient force was appointed to guard the lines, and the rest of the troops dispersed to their several homes. SECT. V.

SECTION VI.

Change in the Administration of Argos: Peace and Alliance between Argos and Lacedæmon: Overthrow of the Athenian Influence, and of the Democratical Interest in Peloponnesus. Inertness of the Lacedæmonian Administration: Expulsion of the Oligarchal Party from Argos, and Renewal of Alliance between Argos and Athens. Siege of Melos by the Athenians: Fresh Instance of atrocious Inhumanity in the Athenians. Feeble Conduct of the Lacedæmonians: Distress of the Oligarchal Argians. Transactions in Thrace. Conclusion of the Sixteenth Year of the War.

SCARCELY any disaster could befall a Grecian commonwealth that would not bring advantage to some considerable portion of its citizens. The unfortunate battle of Mantineia strengthened the oligarchal cause in Argos. The fear of such another blow, and of the usually dreadful consequences of un- SECT. VI.

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successful war among the Greeks, brought the Argian people to a temper to bear advice about an accommodation with Lacedæmon; while the inconvenience of democratical sway unbalanced, which had been so severely experienced in the circumstances of the battle, disposed them to hear, with less impatience, of the necessity of trusting executive government to a few. On this turn, in the public mind, the oligarchal leaders founded a project to overset the present politics, not only of their own state, but of all Greece. They would first propose to the Argian people simply to make peace with Lacedæmon: that being effected, and the Athenian alliance in consequence no longer necessary, the people might probably be persuaded, for the sake of confirming the peace, to make alliance with Lacedæmon. Having thus far used the power of the people as the instrument of their measures, they would then turn those very measures against the power of the people: with assistance from Lacedæmon they would abolish the authority of the general assembly, and establish oligarchal government.

Such was the scheme, and it appears to have been ably conducted. The Carneia gave opportunity for communication with Lacedæmon; and tho the watchful acuteness of Alcibiades led him to suspect the intrigue, insomuch that he passed to Argos purposely to counterwork it, yet the measures of the oligarchal party were so well taken, and the depression of the popular mind gave them in the moment such opportunity, that the vote for peace was carried. This leading step being gained, the oligarchal party proceeded to push their advantage. Matters had been prepared by secret negotiation, and articles were soon

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settled; according to which it was agreed, 'That 'all Peloponnesian cities, small equally and great, 'should be independent, as in the times and ac- 'cording to the customs of their forefathers[13]: 'That the hostages in the hands of the Argians 'should be restored to their friends: That the 'siege of Epidaurus should be raised: That, if 'the Athenians persevered in prosecuting it, the 'Lacedæmonians and Argians should unitedly op- 'pose them; and that they should equally oppose 'the interference of any forein armed force, upon 'any occasion, within the peninsula.'

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 77.

This blow to the politics of Alcibiades and the c. 78. interest of Athens, was quickly followed by an alliance, defensive and offensive, between Lacedæmon and Argos, accompanied with a renunciation, on the part of Argos, of the alliance with Athens, Elis, and Mantineia. Among the articles which Thucydides has reported, in the Doric dialect in which they were written, and apparently at large, the following particularly deserve notice: 'All cities of 'the confederacy, those of the Lacedæmonian 'equally and of the Argian alliance, shall have the 'clear and independent injoyment of their own laws 'and their own polity, according to antient usage[14]. 'If city has difference with city, it shall be decided 'by judges to be duly appointed by both[15]; or it 'shall be lawful to refer the decision to any third 'city equally friendly to both. Military command 'shall rest with the Lacedæmonians and Argians;

[13] Κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. [14] Κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.

[15] I know not how more satisfactorily to paraphrase the single word of the original, διαχρισθῆμεν; translators and commentators give no assistance; and here, as for the dispute between Athens and Lacedæmon before the war, we want information by what rule of law, by what process, and under what sanction, such litigation between state and state was to be managed.

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'who shall, by joint councils, direct, equitably and 'impartially, the military affairs of the whole con-'federacy.'

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 80.

As soon as this second treaty was concluded, a requisition was sent to Athens, in the name of the united republics, for the immediate evacuation of the Epidaurian territory, with a declaration that neither embassy nor herald from Athens would be received, while Athenian troops remained in Peloponnesus. The Athenian administration prudently yielded to the necessity of the moment, and Demosthenes was sent to bring away the Athenian forces. That officer showed his usual ability in the execution of this ungrateful commission: he saved the dignity of his republic by giving the affair the appearance of a favor granted by Athens to both Epidaurus and Argos; and he more essentially served his republic by restoring, in some degree, a good correspondence with both those cities.

Success animated the administrations of the newly-allied states, and they pushed it with a degree of vehemence. Ambassadors were sent to invite Perdiccas king of Macedonia to join their confederacy, with orders at the same time to ratify by oath, in the name of the two states, to the Chalcidian towns, the alliance, and ingagement for protection, formerly made by Lacedæmon. Contrary then to that spirit of equity, moderation, and peace, which the terms of their confederacy appeared to hold forth, commissioners, escorted by a thousand heavy-armed from each state, went to Sicyon, and, by their assumed authority, subverting the established democratical government there, committed the supreme power to an oligarchy of their own selection. This, however, they would vindicate by asserting that the

antient constitution of Sicyon was oligarchal, and the democracy a usurpation. SECT. VI.

Measures, which had been for some time preparing, toward a revolution of the same kind at Argos, were now thought mature. Accordingly those leading men, who had conducted the negotiations with Lacedæmon, and had since directed the administration of Argos, under the nominal authority of the popular assembly, assumed to themselves the supreme power of the state, and the authority of the popular assembly was expressly abolished. Meanwhile the Mantineians, seeing that, instead of any longer receiving protection from Argos, they were to expect oppression from the union of that powerful state with Lacedæmon, yielded, very reluctantly, their command over the Arcadian towns which they had subjected, and made their peace with Lacedæmon upon such terms as they could obtain. The Lacedæmonians then took upon themselves to regulate the little republics of Achaia, so as to restore the Lacedæmonian influence, where it had been overpowered by a democratical party, and to confirm it, where it was tottering; and they found universal acquiescence. Thus, before the end of winter, all the effect of the treacherous policy of Alcibiades, which had been at first so threatening to Lacedæmon, was done away, and Peloponnesus was more completely than ever united, not immediately in war, but in politics, against Athens. Thucyd. l. 5. c. 82.

This important change seems to have been produced by springs, not within the power of human wisdom in the Athenian administration to control. Its advantages were lost to Lacedæmon through the want of energy, which had so long been conspicuous in the administration of that state. Tho the democratical form of government was abolished in

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B.C. 417. Ol. 90. 4. P. W. 15. After 2d April.

Argos, the democratical interest remained powerful; and, early in spring, a conspiracy was formed to overturn the oligarchy. The time chosen for carrying it into effect was the season of the Gymnopaideia, the Naked Games, at Sparta. But a democratical party could not easily keep a secret. Intelligence of the design was acquired by the Argian administration, and communicated to Sparta, with a request of precautionary assistance; yet, such was the infatuated attachment of the Lacedæmonians to those stated festivals, they would not stir. The discovery of the plot, and the knowlege that it was discovered, led the two parties in Argos to arms; and, intelligence of this being forwarded to Sparta, then at last it was thought proper to adjourn the celebration of the festival, and send an army to save so important an ally. But it was too late: the two parties had come to action in Argos, the oligarchal party was defeated, many had been killed, and most of the rest forced into exile. Some of the fugitives met the Lacedæmonian army at Tegea, and were the first to give information of their own misfortune. They expressed at the same time confident hope that their affairs might yet be restored: in the confusion unavoidable immediately on such a revolution, it would be easy, they said, for so powerful an army to become masters of the city; and to their remonstrances they added the most urgent intreaty. But the chiefs of the Lacedæmonian army were not to be so persuaded; they led their forces immediately home, to conclude the celebration of their festival. Had we not these circumstances from the authentic pen of Thucydides, we should scarcely conceive them possible of a people, who could sometimes conduct themselves with so much united dignity and policy as the Lacedæmonians.

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The conscious weakness of the prevailing party in Argos, marked by one of their first measures, makes the conduct of the Lacedæmonians appear the more extraordinary and more inexcusable. Confident neither in their own strength, nor in the expectation of assistance from Athens, the Argians sent a deputation to make their peace with Lacedæmon. The exiles did not fail to send deputies to oppose them. The Lacedæmonians, with ostentatious moderation, referred the matter to the general convention of deputies from the states of their confederacy. Both parties were heard; but judgement was given, as might be expected, against the democratical party; and it was decreed that an army should be sent to carry it into effect. The weak remissness of the Lacedæmonian government again showed itself, in delaying the execution of this decree; and the Argian administration, thus at the same time threatened and incouraged, recurred to Athens, where their application was gladly received, and the former connection of Athens and Argos was restored.

Those measures which the existing circumstances rendered advisable, were then taken by the Argians, for resisting the vengeance of Lacedæmon; which, instigated continually by their banished fellowcitizens, would scarcely fail at length to fall upon them. The landforce of Lacedæmon would be decidedly superior to any they could expect to assemble: upon their walls therefore they must depend for protection, and upon the sea, if matters were pushed to extremity, for subsistence. Accordingly they applied, with the utmost sedulity, to secure the communication of their city with the sea, by long walls; such as connected Athens with its ports, and such as the policy of the

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Athenian government had recommended to many other Grecian towns, standing, according to the usual choice of situation among the early Greeks, near, but not on, the shore. The Athenian government, under the influence of Alcibiades, gave large assistance, particularly furnishing builders, and artificers; and all the Argian citizens, all the slaves, and even the women, assisted in the work. Those indeed were not likely to want zeal for such business, who had to apprehend the miseries which the Grecian practice of war usually brought upon a town taken.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 83.

It was not till the following autumn that the Lacedæmonians exerted themselves, so far as to undertake any military operation, in favor of those miserable families, the principal of Argos, who, confiding in the Lacedæmonian alliance, had ingaged in the measures through which, with the loss of all their property and many friends and relations, they now languished in exile. Then at length the confederacy was called upon for the due proportions of troops, and the Lacedæmonian forces marched under Agis. Some friends to the oligarchal interest yet remained in Argos: these had communicated with the exiles and with Lacedæmon; and it was hoped that the approach of the Lacedæmonian army would inable them to stir with effect. The precaution however of the democratical leaders prevented this; and the Lacedæmonians were neither prepared nor disposed to undertake the siege of Argos. They however destroyed the yet unfinished works of the long walls; they took Hysiæ, a small town of Argolis, and put all the freemen to the sword; and then returning home, dismissed their forces. The Argians used the opportunity thus left open for re-

venge. Their fugitive nobles found favor and protection principally in Phlius, where most of them resided. The Phliasians suffered for their charity, through the ravage of their lands by the Argian forces. SECT. VI.

The restoration of Argos, in its present state, to the Athenian confederacy, was but a small step toward the recovery of that influence in Peloponnesus, which Athens had lately held, and a very deficient gratification for the ambition of Alcibiades. That restless politician therefore looked around for other opportunities to promote his own power and consequence, through an extension of the empire of his commonwealth; and particularly carried his views forward to a war, in which he would certainly command, and hoped to shine. An expedition had been prepared, under Nicias, for the reduction of the revolted cities of Thrace; but it became necessary to abandon the measure, in consequence of the neglect of Perdiccas king of Macedonia to send the troops which, according to treaty, he should have furnished. His alliance with Argos and Lacedæmon becoming also known, he was, for the two offences, declared an enemy to Athens, and the Athenian fleets stopped the maritime commerce of his dominions. Thucyd. ut ant. Plut. vit. Alcib. & Nic.

Intrigues of the oligarchal party being still carried on, or suspected, in Argos, Alcibiades went thither in spring with twenty ships of war, and, with the support of the democratical party, seized no less than three hundred of those supposed most connected with the oligarchal interest, whom he placed in several ilands of the Ægean, under the Athenian dominion. This, among the usual violences of Grecian politics, may be esteemed a lenient measure. The next step of the Athenian democracy, Thucyd. l. 5. c. 84. B.C. 416. Ol. $\frac{11}{1}$. P. W. 16.

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said by Plutarch to have been also dictated by Alcibiades, was a much grosser and more shocking trespass upon the common rights of mankind, and much less defensible upon any plea of political necessity. Alcibiades would not recommend any direct hostility against Lacedæmon; policy forbad; but he recommended everything that might most provoke Lacedæmon to begin hostilities. The people of Melos, both irritated and incouraged by the failure of the attempt against them, in the sixth year of the war, under Nicias, became presently active in hostility against Athens. They were, however, of course included in the peace between Athens and Lacedæmon, and we are not informed of any offence they afterward gave; yet it was now determined by the Athenian people to subdue the iland. An armament was accordingly prepared, consisting of thirty Athenian, six Chian, and two Lesbian ships of war, twelve hundred heavy-armed, three hundred bowmen, and twenty horse-bowmen, all Athenians, and fifteen hundred heavy-armed of the allies.

This force, under the command of Cleomedes and Tisias, debarked in Melos without opposition. Before any ravage, a deputation was sent into the city to persuade the people to submit to the Athenian dominion, without making violence necessary to their reduction; and it was supposed that, could the deputies have addressed their eloquence to the people at large, they might have succeeded; but this the chiefs would not permit. With the chiefs therefore only a conference was held, of which Thucydides has left an account in detail; meaning however, apparently, not to repeat exactly what passed, but only to give a methodized account of the general arguments, and perhaps to express his

own opinion on some points, particularly the ungenerous inertness of the Lacedæmonian administration, in a less invidious way than if he had spoken in his own person. The claim of the strong to command the weak, with absolute authority, was so familiar among the Greeks, that it seems not to have shocked even Thucydides; who, on this occasion, makes the Athenian deputy assert it in the most unqualified manner; professing even his confidence in a continuance of that favor of the gods, which had already inabled the Athenian people to exercise so many cruelties, and reduce so many Grecian states to subjection.

The Melians however, in hope of assistance from Lacedæmon, refusing to submit, the blockade of their city was formed by sea and land. Their resistance was for some time vigorous. In the course of the summer they made a successful sally, upon that part of the contravallation where the Athenian magazine was, and carried a considerable supply of provisions into the town. In the winter they made another sally, attended with some success; but this occasioned a reïnforcement from Athens to the besieging army. The town being then closely pressed, discontent arose among the lower people. The chiefs apprehended sedition, with a design to betray them to the enemy, and doubting their means of prevention, took the desperate resource of surrendering the place, with all in it, to the pleasure of the Athenian people.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 112. 114. c. 115. c. 116.

After all we have gone through of Grecian history, we cannot but shudder at what followed. The Athenians had no pretence for any command over the Melians but that they were stronger. Connected by blood, by habit, and by their form of government, with Lacedæmon, those ilanders had

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nevertheless been cautiously inoffensive to Athens, till forced to become enemies. The punishment for this involuntary crime, even to the lower people, supposed all along in some degree friendly, when all were surrendered together to the mercy of the Athenians, was no less than what the unfortunate Scionæans had undergone, for that termed rebellion. All the adult males were put to death, and the women and children, of all ranks, were sold for slaves. The iland was divided among five hundred Athenian families. With the most unquestionable testimony to facts, which strike with horror, when perpetrated by a tribe of savages, we are at a loss to conceive how they could take place in the peculiar country and age of philosophy and the fine arts; where Pericles had spoken and ruled, where Thucydides was then writing, where Socrates was then teaching, where Xenophon and Plato and Isocrates were receiving their education, and where the paintings of Parrhasius and Zeuxis, the sculpture of Pheidias and Praxiteles, the architecture of Callicrates and Ictinus, and the sublime and chaste dramas of Sophocles and Euripides formed the delight of the people.

Tho the late battle near Mantineia had restored the tarnished glory of the Lacedæmonian arms and the sullied character of the people, yet the conduct of their administration continued to earn for them those imputations of ill faith, illiberal policy, and inertness, which, in reporting the conference at Melos, Thucydides puts into the mouth of the Athenian commissioner, and which, for their conduct toward Argos, they had deserved. Their total abandonment of the faithful and unfortunate Melians was deeply disgraceful. Their Argian friends, wandering up and down Peloponnesus,

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were, wherever they showed themselves or were heard of, striking testimonies to their discredit. In the existing tumult of Grecian politics, some exertion was unavoidable; but it was generally feeble, irregular, and confined to little objects. No less than thrice, since the beginning of hostilities with Argos, the Lacedæmonian army, after advancing to the frontier, was stopped by unfavorable appearances in the border-passing sacrifice, and returned home; a circumstance little known when able and active men directed public affairs. Once indeed we have this religious trick politically accounted for. Incouragement from the friends of oligarchy in Argos induced the Lacedæmonian army to march, and intelligence that the plot was discovered occasioned the stop, which was imputed to forbidding tokens in the sacrifice. At times, however, party ran high in Lacedæmon itself; which might contribute to the visible feebleness and irregularity in the conduct of the administration at this period. Before the end of the winter in which Melos fell, an effort was made to relieve the Argian fugitives, and distress the Argians in possession; but, tho the preparations promised something great, what followed was little and inefficacious. The forces of all the Peloponnesian allies, except Corinth, were assembled, and the strength of Laconia joined them. But, from the first, the objects seem to have been no more than to carry off the plunder of the villages of Argolis, for which waggons attended the march of the army, and to establish the Argian fugitives in Orneæ, an Argolic town on the borders of Phliasia. Both were very incompletely executed. A small part of Argolis only was plundered; and the Lacedæmonian army was no sooner withdrawn, and,

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 7.

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according to the practice of the Greeks, dispersed for the winter, than the Argians, with a small auxiliary force from Athens, marched against Ornæa, which was so ill provided for defence, that those who held it consulted their safety by immediate flight.

During these military transactions, the Lacedæmonian administration so far exerted themselves in negotiation, as to endevor to excite the Chalcidians of Thrace, whose present independency was a benefit derived from the arms of Lacedæmon, to join the king of Macedonia in hostilities against Athens. But the Chalcidians no longer won and animated by the abilities, the activity, the popular manners, and the generous faith of a Brasidas, and probably both apprehensive of the power and distrustful of the character of Perdiccas, refused. While indeed they injoyed independency in peace, the small tribute assessed by Aristeides was apparently not an object for which to provoke the naval power of Athens; and it was rather their interest to see Perdiccas, after all his wiles, unquiet within his own government, as well as harassed by a forein war. The troubles within Macedonia disabled him for any considerable exertion without; while Methonë, an Athenian garrison on the borders, became an asylum for Macedonian refugees and malcontents; who, together with a body of Athenian horse stationed there, employed themselves in inroads wherever they could find most plunder and least resistance. Such were the transactions of the sixteenth winter of the war.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the Affairs of Sicily, and of the Athenian Expedition into Sicily.

SECTION I.

Affairs of Sicily: Hieron King of Syracuse. Expulsion of the Family of Gelon, and Establishment of Independent Democracies in the Sicilian Cities: Agrarian Law. Ducetius King of the Sicels. Syracuse the Soverein City of Sicily. Accession of Syracuse to the Lacedæmonian Confederacy: War between the Dorian and Ionian Sicilians: First Interference of Athens in the Affairs of Sicily: Peace through Sicily procured by Hermocrates of Syracuse.

SECT. I.

The Athenian people, whose numbers were far below the name of a nation, being indeed a very small portion of the Greek nation, but whose men were all soldiers and seamen; possessing a fleet that no one state then on earth could resist, high discipline, military as well as naval, officers of extensive experience, a civil and political system upon the whole admirably arranged, with large revenue from mines and from tributary states; there is no foreseeing how far their tyrannous dominion might not have been extended over Greeks and among forein nations, but that the folly of democracy unrestrained would of course work its own ruin. The evident weakness in the political conduct of the only rival power, Lacedæmon, operated to the incouragement of chiefs and people; and in the same winter in which the inhabitants of the little iland of Melos

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 1.

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were cut off from the face of the earth, the wild ambition of the people of Athens became eager in project for the conquest of another iland, many times larger, not only than Melos, but than Attica; ignorant at the same time, almost all of them, of its magnitude, its population, its value if conquered, and its means to resist conquest.

Plut. vit. Nic.

Ch. 10. of this Hist.

In the succinct history of Sicily formerly given, we have seen Gelon, from a private citizen of Gela, become king of that city and of Syracuse, and head of the Grecian interest in the iland. His dominion comprehended all the Grecian settlements on the eastern coast, the greatest part of those on the southern, with some on the northern, and extensive command over the inland barbarians. After an illustrious reign of only seven years, dying at no very advanced age, in the next year, if we can understand and may trust Diodorus, after the glorious battle of Himera, he was succeeded by his brother Hieron. The only considerable power besides in Sicily, was that of Theron prince of Agrigentum; who, like Gelon, had raised himself from a private station, and had also merited his advancement. He outlived Gelon, according to Diodorus, seven years, dying in the first of the seventy-seventh Olympiad, after a reign of only ten. His son Thrasydæus, who succeeded him, was of a different character: arrogant abroad, as tyrannical at home, he ingaged in war with Hieron. Being defeated, he lost the respect of his own people; and flying, for refuge from their animosity, to the Misæan Megarians, was by them put to death. His opponents made peace with the Syracusan prince, and a republican form of government was restored.

Arist. de Rep. l. 5. c. 12. Diod. l. 11. c. 38. B.C. 479. B.C. 472.

Gelon's reign was too short for completing a work of such complex difficulty as that of molding

into one regular government, and well fixing in their several places, the many parts, little disposed to coalesce, of which his dominion consisted. His policy had made Syracuse a very large city. Probably before his accession its population was become too great to be contained within the limits of Ortygia, the original site. The narrow channel, separating that iland from the northern shore of the bay, was in part filled, and the town was extended upon the main land. The increase of inhabitants under Gelon, however, required a very great addition of buildings. Among the advantages of the situation was an inexhaustible store of freestone under the soil, of a kind easily wrought, yet, after exposure to the weather, sufficiently hard. On the northern side of the harbor, a hill composed intirely of such stone, was, in extent and form, commodious for the site of the new town. Rising precipitous from the sea and from the plain, so that slight fortifications would be strong defences, its hight was moderate, and its summit level; the western end only rising into lofty craggs. The level part, ten or twelve miles in circuit, became intirely covered by the new town; which was divided by fortifications into two parts, with the names of Achradina and Tychë; the former eastward against the sea, the other reaching westward toward the craggy hight; so that Syracuse consisted now of three towns, Achradina, Tychë, and Ortygia, capable of separate defence against a common enemy, or against each other. Whether the fourth, with the name of Neapolis, Newtown, stretching along the shore of the great port, below Tychë, toward the river Anapus, had its beginning under Hieron, seems uncertain. The extraordinary extent and population however,

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which Syracuse finally acquired, will be matter for future notice.

Demetr. de Eloc. s. 312.

Hieron, as well as Gelon, was a man of superior character, but of a character less exactly fitted for the difficult situation to which, on his brother's death, he succeeded. Learned and a munificent

Xenoph. Hieron.

incourager of learning; splendid and of elegant taste; humane and of fine feelings; he was rather qualified to preside beneficially and with dignity over an established government, than to direct the affairs of a state so compounded as that of which Syracuse was the capital. He had talents for war, which he had displayed under his brother's reign. After he came himself to the throne, no dispute with forein powers required his personal exertion in

Diod. l. 11. c. 51. Ol. 76. 3.

military command; but his fleet relieved the Cumæans of Italy by a victory over the Tuscan fleet. In peace therefore his wealth inabled him, as his taste disposed him, to shine in the costly race of chariots on the Olympian course, and liberally to reward those who had talents for mixing his fame with the atchievements of his coursers there. Accordingly the poetical abilities of Pindar have been peculiarly dedicated to promote the renown of Hieron. At the same time men of genius from various parts of Greece were entertained in his court; among whom the poets Æschylus, Simonides, and Bacchilides, are principally mentioned. Yet, if we may trust that elegant dialogue remaining from Xenophon, in which Hieron and Simonides are the supposed speakers, he was utterly unable to accomplish his anxious wish for changing the nature of his government, and converting his tyranny into a constitutional monarchy. He there pathetically laments that, while his subjects could pass, as business or amusement led them, wherever they pleased, with-

out fear, he could be free from apprehension nowhere; but must go, as tyrants it seems usually did, himself constantly armed, as well as surrounded by armed attendants; and he particularly regrets that his subjects (not all, nor, in any probability, a majority, but a party) were more to be dreaded by him than any forein enemy. Apparently Hieron had not the art, like Gelon, to mediate between the higher and lower ranks of citizens, and compose their jarring pretensions. His disposition led him to be more attentive to the splendor of his court, the conversation of men of genius and science, and perhaps the great business of fleets, armies, and forein connections, than to the detail of interior government, and the secret workings of political fermentation. It is not unlikely that, disgusted with petulence and illiberality, he might show himself indisposed to the democratical interest, more than political prudence would allow. For the lower people of the Greeks, unlike those of the freëst and most high-spirited nations of modern Europe, who are generally the most orderly as well as the most industrious, were, on the contrary, disdainful of labor, as the office of slaves, and, unless in military employment, busy only in faction. Of particulars we are not informed, but we learn that to hold his high station, and support those who supported him, Hieron was reduced, against his nature, to use severities. He died nevertheless in peace, in the eleventh year of his reign, and was succeeded in his authority by his younger brother Thrasybulus.

Xen. Hier. Aristot. de Rep. l. 5. c. 12. Diod. l. 11. c. 66.

Ol. 78. 2. B.C. 467.

The circumstances of the revolution, which quickly followed, are very deficiently reported. Thrasybulus is accused of cruel severity, and a conduct generally despotic. The democratical party were certainly strong throughout the cities

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of his dominion: they ingaged in their cause those who held the principal sway in Agrigentum, Himera, Selinus, and some other towns, and then openly revolted. The people of higher rank, however, generally adhered to Thrasybulus; and the two parties divided the city itself of Syracuse between them; Thrasybulus maintaining himself in Ortygia and Achradina, while the rest was occupied by the insurgents. War was thus carried on for some time: but at length Thrasybulus, finding his force insufficient for any hope of final success, retired to Locri in Italy, where he passed the remainder of his days in private life.

Diod. l. 11. c. 67, 68.

Diodorus is, unfortunately, the only author from whom we have any account, with any attempt at connection, of these and the insuing events; which could not but abound in political matter, at the same time curious and instructive. His concise narrative of the demolition of Gelon's fabric of empire, is little consistent with what we learn, from the more authentic pen of Herodotus, concerning its establishment, and as little consistent with the account given, even by himself, of Gelon's uncommon popularity while he lived, and of the high respect in which his memory continued for ages to be held. It is a confused mass, injudiciously compounded of the contradictory reports, evidently, of contending factions. Nevertheless, comparing that narrative, such as it is, with the purer tho more scanty sources of Herodotus and Thucydides, we may acquire no unsatisfactory general idea of the train and of the character of political events in Sicily.

Diod. l. 11. c. 72. Ol. 79. 2. B.C. 463.

On the expulsion of Thrasybulus, the democratical party everywhere predominating, and the democracy of Syracuse not being yet strong or settled enough to assert command, every town of the do-

minion of the tyrants assumed its separate independency. But as the acquisition had been effected through communication among all, it was proposed still to secure it by friendly political intercourse; and for this purpose a congress was held, of deputies from the several towns. The principal measures of this meeting, reported by Diodorus, strongly mark the democratical principle by which it was animated. A festival was established, to be called the Eleutheria or Feast of Freedom, common for all the Sicilian cities, at whose common expence a colossal statue of the Eleutherian Jupiter was to be erected; and, on every return of the festival, four hundred and fifty oxen were to be sacrificed, whose carcasses should regale the citizens intitled to partake in the rites. At the same time it was resolved that no less than seven thousand citizens (if we may trust our copies of Diodorus,) including most of the principal families, should no longer be competent for the honors of magistracy in the commonwealth. The historian, with much apparent reason, ascribes to this source the long troubles that followed. Those injured men, refusing to acquiesce under the tyrannous decree, possessed themselves of two divisions of the city, Achradina and Ortygia, and carried on war by land and sea against their opponents. From similar causes troubles nearly similar arose, about the same time, in Agrigentum, Gela, Himera, Messena, and Catana. Everywhere the parties were nearly balanced; cultivation was interrupted; produce was destroyed; and the acquisition of freedom, as it was called, involved one of the most productive countries upon earth, after much ineffectual bloodshed, in universal want. This at length produced a general composition; and a retreat being provided for those who could not accommodate matters with the

SECT. I.

Diod. l. 11. c. 73.

Ol. 79. 4. B.C. 461.

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prevailing party in their respective towns, by allotting a portion of the Messenian territory for their possession, it was hoped tranquillity might have been restored to the iland.

But thus, in every little state, lands were left to become public property, or to be assigned to new individual owners. Everywhere then that favorite measure of democracy, the equal division of all the lands of the state, was resolved upon; a measure impossible to be perfectly executed; impossible to be maintained as executed; and of very doubtful advantage if it could be perfectly executed and perfectly maintained. The attempt produced neither the proposed quiet, nor any other public benefit, in Sicily. Private interest and party interest were everywhere busy and everywhere powerful. In the inscription of citizens, many, through favor of leading men, were admitted hastily and with little examination; others were arbitrarily rejected: many, even of those benefited by acquisition of land, envied others with portions more fruitful or better situated; while many others, deprived of both property and municipal rights, which they had before possessed, were reduced to the condition of vagabonds and beggars. New and violent dissensions followed. In many towns the government, with the favorite name of democracy, was so unsteddy, that through the discontent of the lower people, sometimes arising from caprice, sometimes from oppression, temptation arose for the powerful and wealthy to aspire to tyranny. In Syracuse especially this occurred; but, of many adventurers none succeeded: Tyndarion lost his life in the attempt. It was however among the Greeks, so common to impute the purpose of tyranny, and even to give the title of tyrant, to the leader of an adverse party,

Diod. l. 11. c. 85.

c. 86.

Ol. 81. 3. B. C. 454.

that the value of the terms, as we find them used by antient authors, is often very uncertain. SECT. I.

After the death of Tyndarion, Syracuse seems to have injoyed a short season of rest under democratical government; and in this period an exertion was made against a forein foe, which proved, that, amid all the troubles, forein commerce had not ceased, and the marine of Syracuse was not totally decayed. The Tuscans, long powerful pirates in the western parts of the Mediterranean, but repressed by the able and vigorous exertions of Gelon and Hieron, took advantage of the dissensions among the Sicilian commonwealths, to renew their depredations on the Grecian commerce and coasts. The Syracusans fitted out a fleet against them, of sixty triremes, which, under the command of Apelles, spred terror through the Tuscan seas; and a debarkation being made in Corsica, then chiefly under the Tuscan dominion, the coast was plundered, the town of Æthalia taken, and the fleet returned to Sicily laden with booty, particularly prisoners, who were made valuable as slaves. B.C. 453. Ol. 81. 4. Diod. l. 11. c. 67.

Meanwhile the antient possessors of Sicily called by the Greeks barbarians, who still held the inland parts, derived, from the long distraction of the Grecian interest, a respite from oppression. This was so ably used by a Sicel prince, Ducetius, that he became the principal potentate of the iland. Long confined to strong holds among the hills, carrying thither from the vales whatever of their harvests they could save from the rapacity of the Greeks, and cultivating the vales only as they could snatch opportunity, at the risk of being carried off for slaves, the Sicels had maintained little connection among themselves, every village having its separate and independent polity. Ducetius united all, ex- c. 78.

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cept the Hyblæans, under one dominion; and then he ventured to move his residence and the seat of his government from Neæ, among the mountains, to a new town which he founded, with the name of Palicë, in the vale beneath, by which he would of course acquire more complete command of that vale, and more effectually vindicate its produce. Whether ambition or political necessity produced the measures which followed, we are without means to know. Ducetius, becoming ingaged in war with the Agrigentines, took Motya, then held by an Agrigentine garrison; and, the Syracusans sending assistance to the Agrigentines, he defeated their united forces. Popular rage, at Syracuse, wreaked its illiberal vengeance against the unfortunate general who had commanded; he was condemned to suffer death as a traitor, and executed. But when passion subsiding gave room for reflection, wiser measures were adopted. The power, the proved abilities, and the various successes of Ducetius, excited general apprehension among the Sicilian Greeks, unaccustomed to such a potentate within their iland. The Syracusans and Agrigentines taking together the lead, a large force was in the next summer collected; a battle was fought, and, after a very obstinate resistance, the Sicels were routed. The Agrigentines quickly retook Motya, and then rejoining the Syracusans, their united forces followed the motions of the Sicel prince.

Diod. l. 11. c. 87.

l. 2. c. 90. Ol. 82. 1. B.C. 452.

Ducetius had not the resources of a settled government, or of the command of a civilized nation. Deserted by some of the troops who had attended his first flight, and upon the point of being betrayed by some of those who still accompanied him, he took a measure which the completest despair only could dictate. Mounting his horse by night, he rode

alone into Syracuse, and placed himself at an altar in the agora. Early in the morning the circumstance became known, and the magistrates assembled the people, to receive their orders for measures to be taken with a suppliant of such importance. Diodorus, the warm advocate of the Sicilian Greeks, acknowleges that there were some among the Syracusans, who thought only of revenge against the unhappy prince, for what they had suffered from his able conduct in war against them; but the majority was decided by more generous sentiments, and probably a better policy. To permit him to remain in Sicily being judged inexpedient, he was conducted to Corinth, where he was liberally maintained at the public expence of the Syracusan commonwealth. SECT. I. Diod. l. 11. c. 91.

The government of Syracuse, after a long course of troubles, appears at this time to have been settled into some consistency; and the city, large, populous, and wealthy, began to feel its weight in the scale of Sicilian politics. The people of the smaller towns were become sensible that they had been making themselves miserable for an independency which they could not maintain, that they were equally unable to coalesce in federal union, and that they must unavoidably lean upon a superior. The only competitor, with Syracuse, for superiority among the Sicilian towns, was Agrigentum; and while the competition remained, lasting peace could not easily subsist between them. The Syracusan chiefs brought back Ducetius from Corinth, apparently to make him instrumental to their own views for advancing the power of their commonwealth. They permitted, or rather incouraged him to establish a colony of mixed people, Greeks and Sicels, at Calë Actë, on the northern coast of the iland. Diod. l. 12. c. 9. Ol. 83. 3. B.C. 446.

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This was considered by the Agrigentines as a measure inimical to them: a war followed; and the Agrigentines, being defeated, were compelled to receive terms of peace from Syracuse. Thus the Syracusan democracy became decidedly the leading power among the Greeks of Sicily.

Diod. l. 12. c. 26. c. 29.

One Sicel town, Trinacia, among all the troubles of the iland, had always preserved independency; and its people, now alone within Sicily, except the Carthaginian garrisons and perhaps the Elymian towns, refused to acknowlege the sovereinty of the people of Syracuse. This was deemed a sufficient cause for war; and the wretched barbarians, after a most gallant resistance, were compelled to yield. All the principal men, of vigorous age, had first fallen in action; the elder, to avoid the ignominy and misery of servitude, or of massacre, from the hands of their implacable enemies, put themselves to death; the surviving inhabitants were made slaves, and the town was destroyed.

Ol. 84. 4. B. C. 441.

Diod. l. 12. c. 30.

The Syracusans, having thus overborne opposition, proceeded to take measures for securing the dominion they had acquired. They exacted tribute, and from time to time augmented the exaction, from all the cities of the iland. With the revenue thus arising they increased their navy and their establishment of cavalry; and when the Peloponnesian war broke out, Syracuse, by its extent of dominion, and its naval force, was among the most powerful of the Grecian republics. Its alliance was therefore a great object for both the contending powers in Greece. As a Dorian people, the Syracusans were disposed to favor the Peloponnesians, and actually ingaged in their confederacy; but as democratical, they were not zealous in a cause which was in so great a degree the cause of oligar-

Thucyd.

chy. Circumstances moreover quickly arose, within their iland, to prevent them from giving that assistance which the Peloponnesians hoped, and which, strong as Syracuse was in marine, had its force been exerted while Athens was weak from pestilence and revolt, might have given a very different turn to the war. SECT. I.

But the empire of democracy being of course oppressive, opportunity only was wanting for revolt against that of Syracuse. The Leontines, whether suffering more than others, or incouraged by better hope of forein assistance, were the first to resist. They were of Ionian origin, from Chalcis in Eubœa, and their revolt was a signal for all the Ionian states in Sicily to take arms against Syracuse. The powerful city of Rhegium in Italy, whose people were also partly of Chalcidian race, joined them. Camarina moreover, originally a Dorian city (how repeopled, after the removal of its inhabitants to Syracuse under Gelon, we are not informed), having, however, particular quarrel with Syracuse, joined the Ionian confederacy. But all the other Dorian cities, more numerous and powerful than the Ionian, adhered to the Syracusans; and the Epizephyrian Locrians of Italy concurred in their alliance. Thucyd. l. 3. c. 86. Diod. l. 12. c. 53. B.C. 428.[a] Ol. 87. 1.

In the fifth year of the Peloponnesian war, during the revolt of Lesbos and the sedition of Corcyra, the Syracusans, already undisputed masters of the field, blockaded Leontini by land and sea. The Ionian towns then all trembled for their fate: a subjection still more severe than that which had excited the revolt, would be the certain consequence of the fall of Leontini, which they were unable to relieve. B.C. 427.

[a] This date is gathered from the circumstances. Thucydides has not specified the time when the war began, and Diodorus is inaccurate.

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In these circumstances, and under these apprehensions, they turned their thoughts to Athens, as the mother-state of the Ionian blood; and a deputation was sent thither to request assistance, urging the claim, not only of consanguinity, but of antient treaties of alliance.

The factions of Sicily, and the general prevalence of democracy, had promoted the cultivation of oratory. Gorgias of Leontini is reported to have been the first rhetorician who reduced his profession to an art, which he taught for pay, and he was at this time in high reputation. Gorgias, according to Diodorus, was placed at the head of the embassy to Athens; and the novelty of his artificial and flowery eloquence, tho afterward justly reprobated by maturer Attic taste, is said to have then wonderfully captivated the Athenian people. The season was, however, favorable for the effect of his talents: the rebellious Mitylenæans had recently yielded to the arms of Paches; and the Athenian interest triumphed in Corcyra, under the auspices of the Athenian admiral Eurymedon, through the horrid massacre of the oligarchal party there. Nor were inducements wanting for the interference of the Athenian government in the affairs of Sicily. The Peloponnesians derived thence supplies of corn, which, by a squadron in the Sicilian seas, or rather, according to the manner of cruizing among the antients, on the Sicilian coast, it was proposed to stop. Hopes moreover were entertained that, under the name of alliance, the Athenian dominion might be extended in Sicily; which would bring, at the same time, increase of income to the state, increase of office and emolument for powerful men, and increase of importance, with opportunities for profit, regular and irregular, to every Athenian citizen.

Thucyd. l. c. 86.

SECT. I.

Thus incited, in opposition to the salutary advice left them as a legacy by their great minister Pericles, the Athenians ingaged in the affairs of Sicily. A squadron of twenty ships of war, under Laches son of Melanopus, and Charœades son of Euphiletus, being in the autumn sent to assist the Leontines, took its station in the friendly port of Rhegium. B.C. 427. Ol. 88. 1. P. W. 5.

The immediate effect of this reïnforcement, as appears from the tenor of the narrative of Thucydides, was, that the blockade of Leontini by sea was given up or became ineffectual, and supplies could be introduced. In the winter an expedition was undertaken by the Athenian commanders, against the Liparæan, called also the Æolian ilands, inhabited by a colony of Greeks from Cnidos. The Liparæans held alliance with the Syracusans, and probably were troublesome to the Rhegians and their allies by maritime depredation. The measures of the Athenians against them however failed. In the following summer the relief of Leontini from the land blockade being attempted, Charœades fell in action. Laches nevertheless, conducting the allied forces against Messena, took that city by capitulation, and then sailing to the Epizephyrian Locrian coast, ravaged the country, defeated the Locrians, who came out to protect it, and took the small town of Peripolium. Thucyd. l. 3. c. 115. & l. 4. c. 25. Thucyd. l. 3. c. 88. B.C. 426. Ol. 88 3. P. W. 6. Thucyd. l. 3. c. 90. Ibid.

In the next winter an attempt was made against the citadel of Nessa in Sicily, held by a Syracusan garrison; but the allies were compelled to retire with loss. The Syracusans then, decidedly superior by land, but excluded by a squadron of only twenty triremes from their own seas, where they had long been accustomed to command, resolved to restore their marine, of late neglected, and give battle to the enemy's fleet. Intelligence of this was c. 103.

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forwarded to Athens, with a request for reïnforcement; and, the success already obtained incouraging the Athenian government, it was determined to send such a fleet as should at once give superiority beyond competition at sea, and, it was hoped, command speedy success in the final object of the war. Pythodorus son of Isolochus was forwarded immediately with a small squadron to supersede Laches in the command in chief, while triremes were preparing in the port of Peiræus, to follow in spring, under Eurymedon son of Theocles and Sophocles son of Sostratidas, which should make the number of the relieving fleet sixty.

This change in the command seems not to have been advantageous. The conduct of Laches in Italy and Sicily had been apparently judicious and vigorous, and, for the force he commanded, successful; and the situations in which we afterward find him, prove that his estimation was not mean in Athens or in Greece. He was the person to whom, together with Nicias, the Lacedæmonian government always applied, when business was to be transacted with the government of Athens. When the truce for fifty years was made with Lacedæmon, he was the person appointed to the dignified office of pronouncing the prayer, that the event might be fortunate for the commonwealth: when the war broke out between Argos and Lacedæmon, he commanded the Athenian auxiliary forces in the army of the Argian confederacy; and he lost his life, as we have seen, in conducting the gallant, and, for the circumstances, successful retreat of those troops, from the unfortunate field of Mantineia. His successor in the Sicilian command began his operations inauspiciously: debarking his forces on the Locrian coast, near the town of Peripolium,

Thucyd. l. 3. c. 103.

which Laches had taken, he was attacked by the Locrians, and compelled to retire with loss. SECT. I.

The following spring was rendered remarkable by an eruption of mount Ætna, the third remembered among the Greeks, from their first establishment in Sicily. The boiling matter overflowed a part of the Catanian territory, but did not affect the town. In the beginning of summer, faction disabling the Rhegian government, and the Athenian general being either weak or remiss in his command, the Syracusans, through intelligence in Messena, recovered that important place. It was about this time that Demosthenes ingaged in his extraordinary attempt at Pylus, which ended so advantageously for Athens. Intelligence arrived at Syracuse, that the fleet under Eurymedon and Sophocles, destined to reïnforce Pythodorus, instead of advancing from Corcyra, was returned to the Peloponnesian coast, and likely to be detained there. The opportunity seemed favorable for the Syracusans to try a naval action; but they could assemble, in the harbor of Messena, no more than thirty triremes. Pythodorus however had only sixteen Athenian and eight Rhegian. Coming to action, nevertheless, in that strait so celebrated for the poetical terrors of Charybdis and Scylla, he gained the advantage, but it was not decisive.

Thucyd. l. 3. c. 106.

B.C.426. P. W. 6. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 1.

l. 5. c. 25.

The circumstances of Camarina then, sedition raging, and the Syracusan party nearly prevailing, induced him to lead his whole fleet thither. He saved Camarina, but the opportunity of his absence was taken by the enemy, for marching against Naxus, a Chalcidian city, of the Ionian confederacy, not far from Messena. The Naxians however were fortunate in alliance with the Sicel barbarians, of their neighborhood; who no sooner

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heard of the distress of their friends, than they came, in large force, to their relief. The Sicels attacked the besieging army: the Naxians sallied opportunely: of the Messenians and others, of the Dorian army, to the amount of more than a thousand were killed upon the spot, and, of the rest, only a small proportion escaped the hands of the pursuing barbarians. The Syracusan fleet, deprived of a landforce on which it could depend for protection, such was the antient marine, dared no longer await the return of the Athenian fleet to Messena. The Leontines, the blockade of their town by land having been already abandoned, then marched to coöperate with the Athenian fleet, in an attack upon Messena. The attempt however failed; and, the Athenian armament remaining inactive during the rest of the summer and all the following winter, tho hostilities were continued among the Sicilian Greeks, nothing important resulted.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 58. & seq.

Meanwhile the fame of the various successes of Athens, and of the general turn in the fortune of the war, contrary to the expectation of all Greece, in favor of that ambitious and restless republic, raised alarm among thinking men; and this was increased by the arrival of the fleet under Eurymedon and Sophocles in the Sicilian seas. During the winter, Camarina and Gela, neighbor cities of Sicily, not actuated by any extensive view, but meerly considering the separate convenience of their own communities, concluded a peace between themselves, for themselves only; each city holding itself bound to the conditions of its former confederacy, for all purposes of war against other states. But the superior political importance of Syracuse gave larger views to its leaders; among

whom Hermocrates son of Hermon was rising to eminence, for abilities, courage, activity, and, above all, for a disposition truly patriotic. The small beginning of peaceful measures made by the Camarinæans and Geloäns, appeared to Hermocrates a favorable opening for proposals for a general peace. He first prevailed with his own city, and then procured a congress of ministers, at Gela, from all the cities of the iland. A variety of clashing interests, among so many little states, made accommodation difficult; but the eloquence of Hermocrates displayed so forcibly the danger of forein interference, and particularly of Athenian interference, and urged so plausibly the evident disinterestedness of Syracuse, decidedly superior in the war, and no way pressed to promote peace but by the desire of benefits and the apprehension of evils which would involve all Sicily, that he finally prevailed. A general peace was concluded, by the conditions of which every city retained what it held at the time, except that, for a stipulated sum, the Syracusans restored Morgantina to the Camarinæans. SECT. I.

The success of Hermocrates in this negotiation effectually checked the ambitious views of the Athenians upon Sicily. The commanders of the fleet, seeing no opportunity of farther service to their country, sailed home. Indignation however met them from their soverein the people, for permitting their allies to make peace: Pythodorus and Sophocles were punished with banishment. The services of Eurymedon, at Corcyra and at Pylus, apparently saved him from so severe a sentence, but he was condemned in a fine.

SECTION II.

New Troubles in Sicily: New Interference of Athens; stopped by the Peace between Athens and Lacedæmon. Assistance solicited from Athens by Egesta against Selinus. Contention of Parties at Athens: Banishment of Hyperbolus. Assistance to Egesta voted by the Athenian Assembly: Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus, appointed to command. Mutilation of the Terms of Mercury: Completion of the Preparations for the Sicilian Expedition, and Departure of the Fleet.

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Thucyd. l. 5. c. 4.

HERMOCRATES, it appears, had no ideä, and, indeed, Thucydides seems to have had no ideä, of the possibility of molding all the Sicilian Greek municipal governments into one commonwealth, or even of establishing among them an effective federal union. The Sicilian patriot is represented, by the statesman-historian, admonishing the congress only to exclude forein interference, and such wars as might arise among themselves would have no very important ill consequences. Through such extreme deficiency in Grecian politics, new troubles quickly arose in Sicily, Time and various circumstances had greatly altered the state of property in all the Sicilian commonwealths, since that incomplete and iniquitous partition of lands, which had been made, on the general establishment of democratical government, after the expulsion of the family of Gelon. In other cities the poor rested under their lot; but in Leontini they were warm in project for a fresh and equal partition; and, to strengthen themselves against the party of the wealthy, they carried, in the general assembly, a decree for associating a number of new citizens. The landowners, thus, not only upon the point of being deprived of their patrimonies, but exposed to every kind and degree of oppression from democratical despotism, applied

to Syracuse for protection; and, with assistance thence, expelled all the lower people. Whether it might have been possible, by any milder expedient, to have obtained any reasonable security for themselves, considering all we learn of the common temper of faction among the Greeks, must appear at least doubtful. It was however hardly possible that the violent measure adopted could place them at ease. Having only their slaves to divide offices with them, the business and the burden of arms must be exclusively their own, in circumstances requiring the most watchful attention of a garrison. For not only the worst evils that man can inflict on man were constantly to be apprehended from the vengeance of the expelled, but the produce of their fields could not be vindicated, and their subsistence insured, without, if not constant exertion, yet constant readiness for exertion, against plunderers. The Syracusans therefore carrying their liberal kindness so far as to offer all the Leontine landowners admission into the number of Syracusan citizens, all migrated to Syracuse, and Leontini was totally deserted. SECT. II.

What, in their new situation, offended or alarmed these men, apparently so generously relieved, we are not informed; but there seems ground for conjecture that it was some violence, committed or threatened, by the democratical party in Syracuse. A number of them quitted that city in disgust, and seizing a part of the town of Leontini, called Phoceæ, and a fort in the Leontine territory named Bricinniæ, they invited their own expelled lower people to join them. Many of these, who had been wandering about Sicily, mostly in sufficient distress, accepted the invitation; and predatory war upon

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the Leontine and Syracusan territories became the resource of all for subsistence.

Intelligence of the expulsion of all the commonalty from the principal Ionic city of Sicily would not be received with satisfaction at Athens. It was quickly followed by information of the partial revival of the democracy of Leontini, through the establishments made in Phoceæ and Bricinniæ. The resolution was then taken to send ministers to Sicily, to discover the strength of the Athenian interest throughout the iland, and to promote a league hostile to Syracuse. Phæax son of Erasistratus was sent, with two others, to manage this business; and he seems to have conducted it ably. Urging, both in public harangue and in colloquial communication, the notorious oppression of the Leontine people, and the evident disposition of Syracuse to assume tyrannical sovereinty over all Sicily, he succeeded with the powerful states of Agrigentum and Camarina. At Gela he failed; and finding no promising prospect in any other city, he passed through the country of the Sicels to Bricinniæ. The garrison there however was greatly incouraged by his information of the alliances he had procured for them in Sicily, and by his assurances of assistance from Athens. Returning then homeward by sea in the usual course, by the Italian coast, in his way he added to the Athenian interest in those parts by an advantageous treaty which he concluded with the Epizephyrian Locrians.

B. C. 422. Ol. 89. 4. P. W. 10.

This prosperous beginning toward a restoration of Athenian influence in Sicily, through a revival of troubles among the Grecian colonies there, was early checked by the event of the battle of Amphipolis, which happened in the summer of the same year. The negotiations for peace between Athens

and Lacedæmon, begun in the succeeding autumn, were brought to a conclusion in the following spring. The party of Nicias then predominated: the maxims of Pericles again swayed the Athenian councils; views of farther acquisition to the dominion of the commonwealth were rejected, and all interference in the affairs of Sicily dropped. SECT. II.

The interest of the principal states of Greece in Sicilian affairs thus ceasing, for near six years we have little information concerning them. But, in that interval, two small republics, toward the western end of the iland, Selinus and Egesta, became ingaged in that kind of domestic war, which, according to the political doctrine maintained by Hermocrates, in his speeches to the Sicilian congress, could have no important ill consequences, were forein interference only excluded. The Selinuntines obtained assistance from Syracuse; which was within the proposal of Hermocrates for insuring general safety and happiness to Sicily. But the Egestans found themselves thus effectually deprived of their portion of safety and happiness among the Sicilian people; for they were presently blockaded by sea and land. It behooved them to find, if possible, assistance equally powerful with that of Syracuse; but within Sicily it was impossible. Pressed therefore by the apprehension of what usually befel a captured town from a Grecian enemy, they determined to seek forein aid; and none appeared so likely to be obtained and to be effectual as that of Athens. Ministers were accordingly sent, who urged arguments which might not unreasonably have weight with the Athenian people. 'The Sy-'racusans,' they observed, 'had already extermi-'nated the Leontines, a people connected with the 'Athenians, not only by antient alliance, but by Thucyd. l. 6. c. 6. B.C. 416. Ol. 91. 4. P. W. 16.

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'blood. If this passed with impunity, and not this 'only, but that domineering people were permitted 'to go on oppressing all the allies of Athens in Sicily, 'let it be considered what a force might accrue to 'the Peloponnesian confederacy, in a future, nay, a 'now impending war.' To these arguments assurances were added, that the Egestans wanted only troops, their wealth being ample.

Athens was at this time more than usually agitated by faction. Alcibiades, checked in his ambitious views by the event of the sedition of Argos, which had nearly annihilated his extraordinary influence in Peloponnesus, was looking around for new opportunity of enterprize, and his purpose to ingage the commonwealth in war again was notorious. The party of Nicias dreaded war on its own account, but still more on account of the increase of influence and authority which would insue to Alcibiades; and they vigilantly opposed all his measures. This contest was favorable to Hyperbolus, who had still great weight, through the support of that body of the citizens which had raised Cleon to greatness. Hyperbolus had nearly overborne Nicias by vehemence of railing and by threatening prosecutions; but he could not so overbear Alcibiades. Against him therefore he directed another kind of policy. The vast ambition of Alcibiades, his splendid manner of living, and the superiority he affected in everything, gave occasion for the suggestion, which was sedulously circulated among the people, that his power and influence were greater than could be safe in a democracy, and that the ostracism was necessary to bring men to a just level. Alcibiades and his friends were alarmed at this ideä, and at the readiness with which the people appeared to receive it. They endevored at first to counterwork

Plut. vit. Nic. & Alcib.

it by urging, that not Alcibiades, whose power rested intirely on the favor of the people, but Nicias and the aristocratical party, were the persons reälly to be feared; and the banishment of the head of that party would best restore a just equilibrium in the commonwealth. Hyperbolus used all his art to inflame the dispute, and at the same time to set the people equally against both the leaders. His influence was such, that it was evidently in his power to decide which of the two should be banished. But he had a politician to incounter, such as Cleon never met with. Alcibiades communicated with Nicias: an assembly of the people was held; both collected their strength; and Hyperbolus was named as a person, by his weight, influence, and seditious designs, dangerous to the commonwealth. The people were surprized; for no man of his mean condition was ever before proposed as a subject for the ostracism. But the Athenian people loved a joke; and this appeared a good one: they would honor him by ranking him with Miltiades, Aristeides, Themistocles, and Cimon. To the whim of a thoughtless multitude was added all the weight of interest of Alcibiades and Nicias, and the banishment of Hyperbolus was decided.

The coälition of parties, however, lasted no longer than to strike this blow against a man whom both feared. One was still as earnest for war as the other anxious to maintain peace. The embassy from Egesta afforded an opportunity such as Alcibiades wished. As general of the commonwealth, for he still held that office, he received the ministers in the most favorable manner, and warmly recommended their cause to the people. None of his measures seem to have been opposed with more effort by the party of Nicias. For a time they pre-

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vented any decision in favor of the Egestans. But at length the various arguments and repeated supplications, which the authority and influence of the general gave opportunity to urge, in some degree prevailed with the people. In the autumn of the sixteenth year of the war, while the Melians were still resisting the Athenian forces, and about the time that the Lacedæmonians were so inefficiently employed in establishing their Argian friends in Orneæ, commissioners were sent into Sicily to gain information of the state of things, and particularly to inquire whether the Egestans reälly possessed those funds, for supporting a large armament, which their ministers pretended.

B.C. 415. Ol. 91. 1. P. W. 17. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 8.

In the following spring, the commissioners returned, accompanied by new ministers from Egesta; who brought with them sixty talents in silver, about fifteen thousand pounds sterling, as a month's pay in advance for sixty triremes, which they were directed to request. With this specious voucher in their hands, they were introduced into the Athenian assembly. The commissioners, devoted to the party of Alcibiades, concurred with them in every representation, true or false, that might induce the people to vote the assistance desired; not scrupling to add their testimony to the assertion, that the sum produced bore but a small proportion to the resources of the treasury of Egesta and the wealth of its temples. This was found afterward to be a gross imposition; but the assembly was persuaded, and the decree passed for sending the sixty triremes.

The policy of Alcibiades upon this occasion, unnoticed by Plutarch and all the later writers, is however not very defectively unfolded in the simple

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and concise statement of facts by Thucydides. Tho Nicias so vehemently opposed the favorite measure of Alcibiades, yet Alcibiades would not appear the opponent of Nicias: on the contrary, he would use the weight and influence of Nicias against Nicias himself. The decree for sending a force to Sicily being carried, the commanders were to be named. The partizans of Alcibiades were still the proposers of all measures, yet Nicias was named first in command; Alcibiades second; and for a third, Lemachus was chosen; a man of birth, who, tho yet in the prime of life, had seen much service, but a soldier of fortune, of a dissipated turn, and of no great weight, either by abilities or property. Instructions were then voted; that the generals should use the force committed to them, first, to give security to Egesta against the Selinuntines; then to restore the commonwealth of Leontini; and afterward to take any measures they might judge proper for promoting the Athenian interest in Sicily. For carrying into effect these purposes, it was decreed that they should have discretionary powers.

Aristoph. Acharn. v. 597. 601. 615. et Pax, v. 604.

Such rapid decision could not but be hazardous, where the measures of executive government were directed by a whole people. But it was the object of Alcibiades and his party not to let popular passion cool. Four days only were allowed before a second assembly was held, to decide upon the detail of the armament, and to grant any requisition of the generals, for which a vote of the people might be necessary. Nicias, unprepared before to oppose a decree which had appointed him to a great command unsought, but disapproving the purpose, which he knew to be really the conquest of Sicily, now stepped forward to admonish the multitude his soverein.

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'To urge to Athenian tempers,' he said, 'that 'in reason they should rather take measures to 'secure what they already possess, than ingage 'in wild projects for farther acquisition, I fear 'will be vain; yet I think it my duty to endevor 'to show you how rash and unadvised your present 'purpose is. Within Greece you seem to imagine 'yourselves at peace: yet some of the most power-'ful states, of the confederacy with which you have 'been at war, have not yet acceded to the treaty, 'and some of the articles are still controverted by 'all. In short, it is not a peace, but meerly a 'dubious suspension of hostilities, prolonged by 'ten-day truces, which will hold only till some 'misfortune befall us, or till Lacedæmon give the 'word for war. At the same time your antient 'subjects, the Chalcidians of Thrace, have been 'years in a rebellion which they are still main-'taining; and some others, whom you esteem de-'pendent states, pay you but a precarious obedi-'ence. Is it not then extreme impolicy to incur 'needlessly new and great dangers, with the view 'to increase a dominion already so insecure?

'As to the dominion which Syracuse may ac-'quire in Sicily, which some desire to represent 'as highly alarming, far from an object of appre-'hension, it would rather give us security. For 'while Sicily is divided, each state will court the 'favor of the Lacedæmonians, who profess them-'selves the protectors of independency; but when 'once the Syracusans are masters of all, they 'will be less forward in connection with Lace-'dæmon, and more cautious of opposing the Athe-'nians; whose cause is similar to theirs, and 'whose interest congenial.

'For myself,' continued Nicias, 'at my years, 'and after the long course of services in which

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'my fellowcitizens have been witnesses of my 'conduct, I may venture to say that no man is 'less anxious for his personal safety. I have 'large property, through which my welfare is 'intimately connected with that of the common-'wealth. But we owe both life and fortune to 'our country; and I hold that man to be a good 'citizen who is duly careful of both. If then 'there is among you a young man, born to great 'wealth and splendid situation, whose passion for 'distinction has nevertheless led him far to exceed, 'in magnificence, both what suited his means and 'what became his situation; if he is now appoint-'ed to a command above his years, but with which, 'at his years especially, a man is likely to be de-'lighted; above all, if repairs are wanting to a 'wasted fortune, which may make such a command 'desirable to him, tho ruinous to his country, it 'behooves you to beware how you accede to the 'advice of such a counsellor. I dread indeed the 'warm passions of that crowd of youths, the follow-'ers and supporters of the person of whom I speak: 'and notwithstanding the decree of the last assem-'bly, all men of sober judgement ought yet to 'interfere, and prevent rash undertakings, of a 'magnitude that may involve, with their failure, the 'downfall of the commonwealth. If therefore, ho-'nored as I am, by the voice of my country, with 'appointment to the chief command of the intended 'expedition, I may presume to advise, it shall be, 'that the expedition be not undertaken; that the 'Sicilians be left still divided by their seas from 'Athens; that the Egestans, as without commu-'nication with Athens they ingaged in war with 'the Selinuntines, so, without our interference

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'they accommodate their differences; and that, 'in future, the Athenians ingage in no alliances 'with states which, in their own distress, will 'claim assistance, but in the distress of Athens, 'could afford none.'

Alcibiades, thus particularly called upon, mounted the bema to reply. He began with insisting upon his just pretension to the high command to which he was raised, and with glorying in the extravagances of which he was accused. 'My ances-'tors before me,' he said, 'have been honored for 'that very conduct which is now imputed to me as 'criminal. I own, and it is my boast, that I have 'exceeded them all in magnificence, and I claim 'merit with my country for it. The supposition 'had gained, throughout Greece, that Athens was 'ruined by the war. I have shown that an indivi-'dual of Athens could yet outdo what any prince 'or state had ever done. I sent seven chariots to 'the Olympian festival, and gained the first, the 'second, and the fourth prizes: and the figure I 'maintained throughout, at that meeting of the 'whole Greek nation, did not disparage the splen-'dor of my victory. Is this a crime? On the con-'trary, it is held honorable by the customs of 'Greece, and reflects honor and renown, even on 'the country of those who exhibit such magnifi-'cence. With regard then to my extravagance, as 'it has been called, at home, whether in public 'entertainments or in whatever else, perhaps I may 'have drawn on me the envy of some of our own 'citizens: but strangers are more just; and in my 'liberality and hospitality they admire the great-'ness of the commonwealth.

'If then even in these things, comparatively meer 'private concerns, I have deserved well of my

'country, let it be inquired what my public con- SECT. II.
'duct has been. Glory, I will own, I ardently de-
'sire; but how have I sought to acquire it, and
'what has been my success? Have I promoted rash
'enterprize? Have I been forward, as it is said
'youth is apt to be, to ingage the commonwealth,
'wildly and without foresight, in hazardous war?
'or was it I who, by negotiation, without either
'danger or expence to yourselves, brought all
'Peloponnesus to fight your battles for you against
'Lacedæmon, and reduced that long-dreaded rival
'state to risk its existence at Mantineia, in arms
'against its own antient allies? If such have been
'my services, on first entering upon public busi-
'ness, you need not, I hope, fear but my greater
'experience will now be advantageous to you.

'With regard then to Nicias, who has long and
'honorably served you in the high situation of
'general of the commonwealth, tho he has been
'expressing himself acrimoniously against me, I
'readily acknowlege his merit, and have no objec-
'tion to serve with him: on the contrary, I think
'it would become your wisdom to employ us toge-
'ther. Nicias has the reputation of cautious pru-
'dence, and singular good fortune; I am said to
'be more than prudently enterprizing. For want
'of enterprize his wisdom, and the good fortune
'with which the gods have been accustomed to
'bless it, will be unavailing to the commonwealth:
'checked by his prudence, my disposition to enter-
'prize cannot be dangerous.

'To come then to the question more immediately
'before the assembly, the opportunity now offered
'to the commonwealth, for acquisition in Sicily,
'ought not to be neglected. The power of the
'Sicilians, which some would teach you to fear, has

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'been much exaggerated. They are a mixed people, little attached to oneanother, little attached to a country which they consider as scarcely theirs, and little disposed to risk either person or fortune for it; but always ready for any change, whether of political connection, or of local establishment, that may offer any advantage, or relieve from any distress. Nor is their military force such as some have pretended; several Grecian states and all the barbarians of the iland, will be immediately in your interest. Distracted then by faction, as it is well known the rest are, negotiation, well managed, may soon bring more to your party.

'But it is endevored to alarm you with apprehensions of invasion from Peloponnesus. With regard to this, late experience has demonstrated what may suffice us to know. The Peloponnesians are always able to overrun the open country of Attica even when none of our force is absent on forein service; and, should the expedition now proposed take place, they can do no more. Ought we then to abandon allies, whom treaties ratified by oath bind us to protect? Is it a just reason for so failing in our ingagements, that those allies are unable to afford us mutual protection? It was surely not to obtain Egestan forces for the defence of Attica that the treaty was made; but to prevent our enemies in Sicily from injuring Attica, by finding them employment within their own iland. 'It has been by readiness to ASSIST ALL, whether Greeks or barbarians, that OUR empire, and ALL empire, has been acquired. Nor, let me add, is it now in our choice how far we will stretch our command; for, possessing empire, we must maintain it, and rather extend than permit any diminution of it; or we shall, more even than weaker

'states, risk our own subjection to a forein domi- SECT. II.
'nion. I will then detain you no longer than to
'observe, that the command which we possess of
'the sea, and the party of which we are assured in
'Sicily, will sufficiently inable us to keep what we
'may acquire, and sufficiently insure means of re-
'treat if we should fail of our purpose; so that,
'with much to hope, we have, from any event of
'the proposed expedition, little to fear. I am there-
'fore firmly of opinion that your decree for it ought
'not to be rescinded.'

This speech of Alcibiades was received with loud and extensive applause. It was followed by speeches of the Egestan and Leontine ministers, imploring pity and urging the faith of treaties, which also had their effect; and at length the disposition of a large majority of the people to favor the purpose of Alcibiades became so evident, that Nicias would not any longer directly oppose it. But, as first of the generals elect, it was his privilege to name the force that he judged requisite for the enterprize; and he thought to damp the present ardor, and excite a little reflection, by naming what, he expected, for the Athenian commonwealth to send on distant service, would be deemed extravagantly great. While therefore he appeared to accede to the general wish, he endevored to divert it from its object by reciting the difficulties that would oppose its accomplishment. 'We have, at c. 20.
'present,' he said, 'for allies in Sicily, the Eges-
'tans, semibarbarians, and the Leontines, who
'scarcely exist as a people. It is to be hoped that
'Naxus and Catana, on account of their connection
'by blood with the Leontines and with Athens,
'may be induced to join us: but there are, beside
'these, seven independent Grecian cities in Sicily, Thucyd. l. 6. c. 19.

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'on whose opposition we may rely[1]; all of them 'possessing regular forces of land and sea, with 'funds to maintain them; and especially Selinus 'and Syracuse, the first objects of the war. The 'Syracusans, in addition to considerable wealth of 'their own, command tribute from the barbarians 'of the iland. But the two points in which they 'will principally have advantage over us, are the 'possession of a numerous cavalry, and of the 'stores which a plentiful country affords; while we 'must depend upon precarious supplies by sea. In 'addition therefore to a powerful fleet, an army, 'such as we have been accustomed to send on 'forein service, will be very unequal to the object. 'Unless we obtain other allies than the Egestans, 'such a force could not stir, in Sicily, for the caval- 'ry alone of the enemy. It must then be consi- 'dered that we shall not only be far from home, but 'far also from any territory under our command. 'Supplies will therefore reach us, not without risk 'and difficulty at all times; but during the four 'winter months, scarcely an advice-boat can pass to 'us. These things considered, it appears that, be- 'side a large force of regular heavy-armed of our 'allies and subjects, in addition to what it may be 'advisable to send of our own, if we can obtain any 'for hire in Peloponnesus, it should be done. Since 'moreover to transport so far a body of cavalry 'capable of opposing the cavalry of the country is 'impossible, we must add a large force of bowmen 'and slingers, who may at least relieve our heavy- 'armed against the annoyance of the enemy's horse. 'Our fleet must be superior beyond competition; 'otherwise we can have no certainty even of subsis-

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 22.

[1] Syracuse, Selinus, Camarina, Gela, Agrigentum, Himera, Messena.

'tence; and it will be proper to provide abundantly beforehand for so numerous an armament, to prevent the distress that might otherwise arise from accidents of winds and seas. Beyond all things, however, we must be amply supplied with money; because what the Egestans talk of, I am confident they only talk of. In a word, to begin our business with any prospect of success, we must, from the moment we land, be in every point superior to the enemy. This is what the welfare of the commonwealth, I am fully persuaded, requires. If any man can convince you that my opinion is unfounded, I am ready to resign my command to him.' SECT. II.

The simple prudence of the experienced Nicias was no match for the versatile sagacity of the young politician with whom he had to contend. The friends of Alcibiades received this speech with the highest approbation; affecting to consider it not at all as dissuading or discouraging the undertaking, but on the contrary, wisely and providently recommending what would insure success. The whole people were infatuated with the spirit of enterprize. Love of novelty and change, with certainty of present pay, and hope of they knew not what future acquisition, influenced the more thoughtless of all ranks; while the past successes of Athens, and the evident weakness and inefficiency of the Lacedæmonian administration, incouraged even the more experienced and prudent; insomuch that if any deeper thinkers disapproved, a declaration of their sentiments might have subjected them to the danger of being deemed disaffected to the commonwealth, and fined, banished, or even capitally condemned, according to the momentary caprice of the despotic soverein. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 24.

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Thucyd. l. 6. c. 25.

Such being the disposition of the people, Nicias was called upon to declare what precisely was the force that he thought necessary. He would have declined in the moment, urging that he wished to consult his collegues; but popular impatience would admit no delay, and, overcome with importunity, he at length said, that less than a hundred triremes and five thousand heavy-armed, with a due proportion of bowmen and slingers (making, in the whole, at least thirty thousand men, those in the sea-service included) would be insufficient; and that stores and all necessaries should be plentifully provided to accompany the fleet; which ought not to be left dependent upon precarious supplies. Popular zeal did not confine itself to the meer grant of what was thus demanded: but a vote was immediately passed, impowering the generals to command, for the expedition, whatever they should judge expedient for the prosperity and glory of the commonwealth. The ravage made by the pestilence, at the beginning of the war, was now in a great degree repaired: the loss in battle had never been great; and the revenue, far exceeding the ordinary expences of the commonwealth, which in peace were trifling, incouraged ambition. Preparation therefore, thus amply supplied, was made with a celerity proportioned to the zeal of the people.

During the equipment, and while the popular mind was bent with a singular degree of passion upon the the proposed conquest, injoying already in ideä large acquisition of sovereinty, whence tribute would accrue, such as might give every Athenian citizen to be for ever exempt from labor and from poverty, without occupation or profession but that of arms, everything was suddenly disturbed by a strange circumstance, to which Grecian superstition

alone gave any importance. It was a custom among the Athenians, derived from very early times, when art was rude, to place an imperfect statue of Mercury, the head completely carved, the rest generally a block meerly squared, in front of every residence, whether of gods or men: this custom was still held sacred, and neither temple nor house at Athens was without one of those formless guardians. In one night the greatest part of them had the face mutilated by persons unknown. Alarm and indignation immediately filled the city: the matter was taken up most seriously by magistrates and people: however the act of ill-designing men, it was very generally considered as an omen foreboding ill to the proposed expedition; and great rewards were publicly offered to any, free or slave, who would discover the perpetrators. With regard to the offence in question, inquiry and temptation were equally ineffectual; not the least discovery was made; but indication was obtained concerning the mutilation of some statues, some time before, by young men heated with wine, and also of a profanation of the sacred mysteries, by a mock celebration of them in private houses; and in this accusation Alcibiades was involved.

SECT. II.

Diod. l. 11. c. 91.

Thucyd.

Andoc. de myst. p. 20. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 28.

Of the party in opposition to Alcibiades were all who leaned to oligarchy, and most of the most powerful men of the commonwealth; who indignantly bore the superiority assumed by that young man, by whose abilities, assisted by the splendor of his birth, and the greatness of his fortune, and supported by the favor of the people, they found themselves so overwhelmed, that they had for some time past submitted in silence. But the present was an opportunity not to be neglected: they set themselves instantly to take advantage from it to

Thucyd. Isocrat. pro Alcib. vel de bigis, p. 138. t. 3.

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ruin him in the favor of the people, that foundation of sand on which all power in Athens must rest, and then the reins of the commonwealth would of course pass into their own hands. The report was sedulously propagated, that Alcibiades was the principal author of all the late outrages. Facts known, it was said, afforded sufficient presumption of what could not be directly proved; and the meer style of living of Alcibiades, so unbecoming the citizen of a commonwealth, and notorious to all, for it was displayed ostentatiously, demonstrated that he had no moderate purposes, and that nothing less than the tyranny of Athens was the ultimate object of his ambition.

Comparing the cautious account of Thucydides with the known circumstances of the times, the temper of party at Athens, and events preceding and following, we find strong reason to suspect, tho we cannot be certain, that, not Alcibiades, but the enemies of Alcibiades, were the authors of the profanation whence the disturbance arose. Alcibiades was known, in his revels, to have committed irregularities, which would give color to suspicion against him. But the mutilation of the Mercuries was no affair of a revel; it was evidently a concerted business, conducted with the most cautious secresy. Nothing could be more injurious, nothing more necessarily ruinous in its consequences to all the warmest wishes of Alcibiades, than such an event at such a time, and nothing could equally favor the purposes of his opponents: nothing therefore more without temptation for him, while the strongest motives might urge them to commit the deed in secret, with the hope of fixing upon him the suspicion. Accordingly, in no one circumstance of his public life does Alcibiades seem to have conducted

himself more unexceptionably than under this accusation. He neither avoided inquiry, nor attempted to overbear it; but coming forward with the decent confidence of innocence, he earnestly desired immediate trial, and deprecated only accusation in his absence. 'If guilty,' he said, 'he was ready 'to submit to the death which he should deserve. 'if innocent, he ought to be cleared of the shock-'ing imputation; and as it would be unjust, so 'would it be in the highest degree imprudent to 'keep such a charge hanging over a man vested 'with so great a command.' But, as usual with all factions, what prudence would dictate for the benefit of the commonwealth was, with his opponents, but an inferior consideration; what would advance the power of their party was the first. Dreading, therefore, his popularity with the army, fearing particularly the alienation of the Argian and Mantineian auxiliaries, whom his influence principally had obtained for the expedition, and apprehensive that blame thus might fall upon themselves, they determined neither immediately to accuse, nor wholly to give up accusation; and they prevailed with the people to decree simply, that Alcibiades should hold his command, and proceed on the expedition[2]. SECT. II.

This being determined, popular zeal returned to its former object, and by midsummer the preparations were completed. So great and so splendid an armament was never before sent by any Grecian Thucyd. l. 6. c. 30.

[2] This is Thucydides's account. According to an oration remaining from Isocrates, the accusers of Alcibiades were punished, which would imply an acquittal of himself. But apparently the orator has taken occasion, from a later transaction, to assert so much thus generally, leaving to his hearers to refer it to the time to which it belonged. Isocrat. de bigis, p. 133, 134. v. 3.

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Thucyd. l. 6. c. 31.

state on forein service. The importance of the armament itself, the importance and distance of its object, and the popular predilection with which it was favored, occasioned extraordinary allowance for the equipment. Private zeal contended with public; the commanders of triremes not sparing their own purses, every one to have both his crew and his vessel completest, equally for show and for service. The daily pay of a drachma, tenpence sterling, was given by the public to every private sailor; and the captains added extraordinary pay to able seamen, and to all the rowers of the upper bench, distinguished by the name of Thranites, whose situation was more exposed, and whose office both required more skill and was more laborious than that of the rowers of the lower benches. The heavy infantry, all chosen men, who, as usual in the Greek service, provided their own arms and appointments, vied with each other in the excellence and good appearance of both.

c. 30. B. C. Ol. 91. 1. P. W. 17. After 8 June.

On the day named for imbarkation, the Athenian citizens inrolled for the expedition appeared on the parade at daybreak, together with those of the allied forces which were then at Athens. The whole city accompanied their march to Peiræus; the natives, says the cotemporary historian, divided between hope and fear, on seeing so great a proportion of the strength of the commonwealth, with some relations or friends of every family in it, committed to the rage of elements and the chance of war, at a distance which, for antient navigation, was so great[s]; while the numerous foreiners more

[s] Thucydides calls it the most distant as well as the greatest expedition ever made by any Grecian state. The coasting navigation of the antients therefore made Sicily, in his opinion, more distant than Egypt.

calmly gratified their curiosity with so splendid and interesting a spectacle. As soon as the imbarkation was completed, and everything prepared for getting under way, trumpets sounded for signal of silence, and prayers for success were put up to the gods with more than usual formality, heralds directing, and the whole armament uniting their voices. Goblets of wine were then produced in every ship, and officers and privates together, out of gold and silver cups, poured libations and drank to the prosperity of the armament and of the commonwealth, the citizens and strangers on the beach joining in the ejaculation. This ceremony being performed, the pæan was sung, and the whole fleet moved for Ægina, thence to take its departure for Corcyra. SECT. II.

SECTION III.

Defects of the Syracusan Constitution. Force of the Athenian Armament. Measures of the Athenian Armament. Able Conduct of Alcibiades. Intrigues, Tumult, popular Panic, and their Consequences at Athens.

INTELLIGENCE of the extraordinary magnitude of the Athenian preparations passed from various quarters to Syracuse; and the destination, in a democratical government, could not remain a secret. Nevertheless it was long before the news gained such credit, among the Syracusan people, as to produce any measure for obviating the threatened evil. It is not specified by historians, but the account of Thucydides makes it evident, that there had been a revolution in the government of Syracuse, or at least a great change in the adminis- SECT. III. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 32.

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tration, since the oligarchal Leontines were admitted to the rights of Syracusan citizens. The democratical party now bore the sway; and some jealousy toward the nobles, lest preparation for war should throw an increase of power into their hands, appears to have influenced the leaders of the day. At the same time the circumstances of Syracuse, considerably altered since the former interference of Athens in the affairs of Sicily, were such as would inflame the usual presumption of a democratical government. The Ionian interest, formerly, with the assistance of Camarina, nearly balancing the Dorian, was now suppressed; Syracuse was the acknowleged head of the Grecian name in Sicily; and the Syracusan people trusted that, excepting the semibarbarian Egestans and the Leontine freebooters, the Athenians would not find a friend in the iland, who would dare to own himself.

At length, however, accumulated accounts arriving, each more alarming than the former, it was thought proper to convene the general assembly. The patriotic and able Hermocrates, the peacemaker of Sicily when harassed by internal war, was among the foremost to propose vigorous measures against forein attack. Representing the Athenian armament as reälly great and formidable, but dangerous to Syracuse only in proportion to its deficiency of exertion, he proposed to strengthen the Syracusan confederacy by conciliating the barbarians of the iland, and by extending alliance among the Italian Greeks: he would even make overtures to Carthage, the richest commonwealth upon earth, and therefore ablest to give that kind of assistance which was most desirable, as being most efficacious with least danger; and it was reasonable to suppose, he said, that apprehension of the growing power

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 33.

and extravagant ambition of Athens would dispose the Carthaginians to the connection. Application ought also to be made to Corinth and Lacedæmon, whose favorable disposition could not be doubted. Such in general was the negotiation which, in his opinion, their circumstances required. With regard then to military operation, he was clear that they ought to meet invasion before it reached them: and, high as the reputation of the Athenian navy was, yet local circumstances gave them such advantages, that a proper exertion of the naval force which the Sicilian states were able to raise, might make it impossible for the Athenians ever even to reach the Sicilian coast. This ideä was founded on the deficiencies of the antient marine; of which the words put into the mouth of Hermocrates, by the able cotemporary historian, give the clearest as well as the most authentic information. 'The Ta-
'rentines,' said Hermocrates, 'are our allies; and the
'Athenian fleet, to go from Corcyra, their known
'place of assembling, to Sicily, must first make
'the Iapygian coast, and cannot avoid passing Ta-
'rentum. The harbor of Tarentum therefore should
'be the station for the greatest naval force that can
'be collected. So numerous a fleet, as that of the
'enemy, cannot keep exact order in the long pas-
'sage (for so, in Thucydides's narrative, Hermo-
'crates terms it) across the Ionian gulph. From
'the harbor of Tarentum, therefore, we may chuse
'our moment of attack, with certain advantage.
'We shall go into action with our crews refreshed
'in a friendly port, and our galleys light; the Athe-
'nians fatigued with rowing and incumbered with
'stores: or, should they, at the expence of these,
'prepare for action, we may, if prudence require it,
'retire into our port, and wait for fresh advantages.

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'Nor can these fail to offer: for the enemy must 'then again incumber his galleys with stores, or 'risk to suffer from want, in the passage along a 'hostile coast. Such being the inconveniencies 'and the hazards which he must have to incounter, 'I think, if the measure I propose were taken, he 'would scarcely venture at all to cross the gulph.'

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 35.

This able advice, to a whole people in assembly directing executive government, did not find the attention it merited. Many would not yet believe that the Athenians meant to invade Sicily with views of conquest: some even ridiculed the ideä: various contradictory opinions were warmly maintained; and Athenagoras, chief of the democratical party, endevored to use the opportunity for carrying a point against the nobles. 'It was rather to be 'wished than feared,' he said, 'that the Athenians 'would be so mad as to invade Sicily. For him-'self, he thought them wiser. Peloponnesus itself 'was not better able to resist them; and the force 'of Syracuse alone was superior to double the ar-'mament whose approach was represented as so 'alarming. No cavalry, he well knew, was imbark-'ed: within Sicily the Athenians could obtain none, 'except an inconsiderable force from Egesta; and 'even their heavy-armed were inferior in number 'to the Syracusan. Such being their deficiency, if, 'instead of commencing operations, as they must, 'from their naval camp, with scarcely a friend with-'in the iland, they possessed a neighboring city 'equal to Syracuse, even so their army, instead of 'making conquest, would hardly escape destruc-'tion.' Having declared his sentiments against the measures proposed by Hermocrates, he proceeded to invey against him and the whole body of the nobles. 'The ambition of young men,' he said,

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 38, 39, 40.

'panted for military command; but the city would 'not so impose a yoke upon itself. On the con- 'trary, prosecution should prevent the seditious 'purposes of those who would spred alarm; and 'punishment should not fail for such offences 'against the common welfare.' He was proceeding thus in the endevor to excite popular passion, when one of the generals (for the Syracusan constitution at this time divided the chief military command between a board of fifteen) interfered with the authority of office. He strongly reprobated the attempt to check the freedom of debate, and deter individuals from declaring their opinion on public affairs: 'When hostilities were threatened,' he said, 'the welfare of the commonwealth unquestionably 'required preparation in due proportion to the dan- 'ger. It should therefore be the care of the gene- 'rals to acquire more certain intelligence, than 'seemed yet to have been obtained, and in the 'meantime to communicate with the allies of the 'commonwealth, and take all other proper precau- 'tion.' Without putting any question to the vote, he then dismissed the assembly.

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Thucyd. l. 6. c. 41.

While such, through the defects in the constitution of the government, was the unprepared state of Syracuse, the whole of the Athenian forces was already assembled at Corcyra. The fleet consisted of a hundred and thirty-four triremes, and two Rhodian penteconters. Of the triremes, a hundred were Athenian; and of these, sixty were light for action, forty carried soldiers. The other thirty-four triremes were of the allied states, principally Chian. The heavy-armed were, in all, five thousand one hundred; of whom two thousand two hundred were Athenian citizens; and of these only seven hundred, appointed to the inferior service of ma-

c. 42.

c. 43.

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rines[4], were of the Thetes, the other fifteen hundred being of the higher orders. The Argian auxiliary heavy-armed were five hundred; the Mantineian, including a few Peloponnesian mercenaries, two hundred and fifty; the remainder of the heavy-armed were from the subject states. The regular light-armed were four hundred Athenian and eighty Cretan bowmen, seven hundred Rhodian slingers, and a hundred and twenty Megarian refugees. A single horse-transport carried thirty horse. The storeships provided by the Athenian government, which carried also both sutlers, and artificers, were thirty of large burden, of the kind called holcads, and a hundred smaller[5]; but many other vessels, belonging to individuals, followed, for the sake of profit from the market of so large an armament.

Through the rash precipitancy of one party in the administration, and the opposition by which the other was perplexed, so deficient had been the preparatory measures, that it was yet unknown to the generals what Italian or Sicilian cities would receive them. Three triremes were therefore dispatched to inquire and to negotiate, with orders to meet the fleet as soon as possible with information. The whole then moved from Corcyra, in three divisions; each of which separately might more readily find, in the Italian ports, those supplies which the antient ships of war could so scantily carry, and that shelter which they were so extremely liable to want. All however together crossed the gulph, and made the Iapygian promontory, without misfortune. Then they dispersed to seek supplies around the bay of Tarentum; but not a single town would

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 42.

[4] Ἐπιβάται τῶν νεῶν. [5] Πλοῖα.

admit them within its walls, or even make a market for them. Tarentum and Locri denied them water and the shelter of their ports. At length the whole fleet reassembled, without disaster, at Rhegium, the first allied city in their course. But even the Rhegians cautiously refused to admit them within their walls; allotting them however commodious ground for incampment, and providing for them a plentiful market. SECT. III.

The Syracusans, at length, satisfied of the necessity of giving up private ease for public service, and no longer hesitating between party interest and general welfare, permitted their leaders to make serious preparation for meeting the coming evil. Ministers were sent to conciliate some of the Sicel tribes; garrisons were placed in situations to control others; arms and horses were examined; and troops marched to occupy some of the most critical posts for defending the Syracusan territory.

Meanwhile the three Athenian ships dispatched from Corcyra, had been as far as the Egestan territory, and did not rejoin the fleet till it was arrived in the harbor of Rhegium. They brought information, that the representations made by the Egestan ministers at Athens, of the wealth of their state, had been utterly false, and that the commissioners, sent by the Athenian government to inquire concerning it, had been grossly deceived. The richest temple of the Egestan territory was that of Venus at Eryx; where indeed the collection of cups, flagons, censers, and other vessels of silver, was considerable. After being conducted to a display of these sacred riches, the commissioners had been variously invited and entertained by the principal Egestans; and, wherever they went, not only all the gold and silver plate of the place was studiously

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collected, but whatever besides could be borrowed from neighboring towns, Phenician as well as Greek. These commissioners had been appointed by the influence of Alcibiades and his party. Whether they were chosen for their ability or their folly may be difficult to guess; but they had either believed, or affected to believe, and reported to the Athenian people accordingly, that they could not sufficiently admire the wealth of Egesta. The commissioners sent from Corcyra were, on the contrary, such as Nicias, the first in command, would approve; and their purpose being, not to procure partial evidence to promote a decree for the expedition, but to find means (for what would now be a principal object of Alcibiades himself) to prosecute its purpose, they made strict scrutiny. On their return they reported, that the Egestans could only show thirty talents, between seven and eight thousand pounds sterling, in their treasury, and that for anything more, their wealth was quite problematical. Probably none of the generals had relied much upon the wealth of Egesta; yet as it had been seriously proposed as the fund which was to afford means for the first conquests, they were distressed by its deficiency; for the Athenian people were not likely to receive very favorably an immediate application for a supply. The disappointment however did not come single. The Rhegians had been upon the point of yielding to the solicitations and remonstrances of the Athenian generals, who urged them to join their arms to those of their antient allies, for the purpose of restoring their common kinsmen the oppressed Leontines; but they now gave for their decisive answer, 'that they 'would do every office of friendship to the Athe-'nians, within the limits of an exact neutrality; but

'they would ingage in no hostilities, unless in con- SECT. III.
'currence with the Italian states of their alliance.'

This determination of the Rhegians was a disappointment, less on account of the force of land and sea, tho not inconsiderable, which they could have furnished, than for the check it would give to negotiation among the Sicilian towns, where the example of Rhegium would be of weight. The Athenian generals found themselves in consequence much at a loss. In many places a disposition adverse to the Syracusan supremacy afforded advantageous opportunities: but, through the divisions among the leading men of Athens, and the haste of those, who promoted the Sicilian expedition to profit from popular favor, it had been so neglected that the semibarbarian Egestans upon the verge of ruin through their war with Selinus, and the miserable Leontines, ejected from their city and territory, were the only confederates of Athens beyond the Ionian sea. When therefore it came to be debated what should be the first measures of the armament, the three generals differed, nearly as might be expected from their difference of character; and each had plausible ground for his opinion. Nicias, experienced, prudent, from the first little satisfied with his command, and now in ill health, proposed to relieve Egesta, which was the primary object of their instructions; and, unless the Egestans could fulfil their ingagement to furnish pay for the whole armament, or readier means should occur, than yet appeared, for restoring the Leontines, not farther to risk the forces or waste the treasures of the commonwealth. The disposition to assist its allies would be shown in the relief of Egesta; its power would be manifested by the meer circumstance of sending so great an armament to such a

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 44.

c. 47.

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distance, and, satisfied with this, he would return immediately home.

Alcibiades, whose temper was impetuous, but his mind capacious, and his abilities universal, elated with the extraordinary effects which his first essay in political intrigue had produced in Peloponnesus, and not dejected by disappointments for which he was more prepared than his collegues, had formed his own plan for laying the foundation of extensive conquest, and persevered in it. 'Such 'a force,' he said, 'as they commanded, ought not 'to return home without achievement, and without 'honor. Yet he would not disapprove prudent, 'or even cautious measures. He would therefore 'propose that negotiation should be tried with all 'the Grecian cities, except Syracuse and Selinus, 'and with every barbarian tribe of the iland. In 'some places, perhaps, zeal in the Syracusan inte-'rest might be meerly slackened; in others, defec-'tion from it might be procured: in some, supplies 'of provisions only might be obtained; in others, 'auxiliary troops. The beginning should be made 'with Messena, the most commodious city and port 'of the iland for their principal station, whence to 'carry on the war. When trial had been duly 'made what might be done by negotiation, when 'they were fully assured who were determined ene-'mies, and who were, or might probably be made 'friends, then they should have a clearer view of 'the business before them, and Selinus and Syra-'cuse must, undoubtedly, be the first objects of 'their arms.'

Lamachus, much a soldier and little a politician, but experienced in the captious and greedy temper of the people his soverein, differed from both his collegues: 'Their whole force,' he said, 'ought

'immediately to be directed against Syracuse, while 'yet in a state of unreadiness, and surprize. If the 'city could not be taken by a brisk effort, which 'he thought not impossible, the other towns of the 'territory would however fall into their hands, be- 'fore the effects in them could be removed; and the 'produce of the country would of course be theirs. 'Thus they should acquire means to prosecute the 'war, without the invidious measure of applying to 'Athens for money. But possibly, what of all 'things was most desirable, the Syracusans might 'thus be provoked to risk a battle; and a victory 'would instantly do more toward procuring alliance 'among the Sicilian cities, than negotiation for twenty 'years. Should the enemy, on the contrary, yield 'their country without an effort, beside the profit 'from plunder, so decisive an acknowlegement 'of the superiority of the Athenian forces would be 'highly favorable to any negotiation that might be 'deemed expedient. With regard to Messena, he 'thought it not of so much consequence. The 'deserted port of Megara, commodiously near to 'Syracuse, and their own whenever they would 'take possession of it, would be far preferable for 'their naval station.'

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Thucyd. l. 6. c. 49.

It appears, from what follows in Thucydides, that the opinion of Lamachus, if conquest was to be sought and the displeasure of the Athenian people avoided, was not the least judicious; but, being overruled, that general chose to concur with the opinion of Alcibiades, to which Nicias was thus compelled to yield. Alcibiades then undertook himself the business of negotiation with Messena. He could not however prevail so far as to bring the Messenians to join in the war against Syracuse; but he obtained, what was of some importance, per-

c. 50.

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mission for the Athenian armament to contract for provisions throughout their territory. He then went with sixty triremes, Lamachus accompanying, to Naxus; and he found the people of that city, who were purely Ionian, and from of old adverse to Syracuse, so much more favorable to his views, that he ingaged them to join in league, defensive and offensive, with Athens. Thence he proceeded to Catana; but the prevalence of the Syracusan party there procured a refusal even to treat. Still therefore coasting southward, he sent forward ten triremes to Syracuse. Approaching the mouth of the port, a herald from the deck of one of them proclaimed the intention of the Athenian commonwealth, 'to restore the oppressed Leontines to their 'just rights, a measure to which it was bound both 'by ties of blood and terms of alliance;' adding, 'that any Leontines would be received as friends 'by the Athenian armament.' This ceremony being performed, and such observation made, as circumstances permitted, on the ports, the city, and the circumjacent ground, the detached squadron rejoined the fleet, and all together went once more to Catana.

Meanwhile apprehension, either of the Athenian armament, or of a party among their own people, had so far wrought a change in the minds of the Catanian leaders, that they consented to admit the Athenian generals to declare their proposals to the assembled people. The forces, being landed, were stationed without the walls, while the generals went into the town; and Alcibiades undertook to address the Catanian people. While he was speaking, and the Catanians, collected in the agora, were universally intent upon the harangue, some of the Athenian soldiers observed a small ill-constructed gateway

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 51.

unguarded, through which, in meer wantonness, they made their way into the town; and, finding no opposition, quietly joined the assembly. The sight struck instant alarm into the Syracusan party, who imagined the city betrayed by their opponents. Some of them hastily, but silently withdrew; and the rest, awed by apprehension of the dreadful calamities usually brought, on the weaker party, by sedition in Grecian cities, concurred in a decree, which was presently proposed, for an alliance defensive and offensive with Athens. Shortly after, the whole fleet moved from Rhegium to Catana, which it was resolved to make the principal naval station. SECT. III.

It soon appeared that the project of Alcibiades to strengthen the Athenian interest by negotiation, and proportionally, of course, to weaken the Syracusan, had been extensively founded. A party in Camarina, incouraged by what had passed at Naxus and Catana, as well as by the reported strength of the Athenian armament, sent to request support in attempting a revolution. The fleet moved thither; but it was found that the innovators had been overhasty in their measures, and the project could not be carried immediately into execution; yet an Athenian party still subsisted in Camarina. In returning, the Athenian commanders debarked a body of forces near Syracuse, and collected considerable booty; but the Syracusan cavalry quickly checked this mode of warfare, cut off some stragglers, and compelled the rest of the maroding troops to seek their ships. The fleet proceeding then to Catana, found there the Salaminian, the ship appropriated to purposes of sacred and solemn office, bearing an order from the Athenian people for the immediate return of Alcibiades and some other officers to Thucyd. l. 6. c. 52.

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Athens, to answer accusations preferred against them for mutilating the statues and profaning the mysteries.

Since the armament sailed for Sicily, Athens had been experiencing the worst evils of democratical frenzy. The oligarchal party, unequal to open contention with the democratical, had resolved upon the bold project of making democracy itself their instrument for exciting popular passion, with the hope of directing it to the promotion of their own interest. Instantly after the departure of the fleet, they became sedulous in diffusing rumors and observations, that might excite suspicion and alarm. The power and influence of Alcibiades, his magnificence, his ambition, his unprincipled conduct, and his various extravagancies, were made constant subjects of public conversation. His abilities, at the same time, and even his virtues, were compared to those by which the Peisistratids had acquired the tyranny. The severities which had occasioned the expulsion of those celebrated tyrants were then magnified ten-fold; the execration to which their memory had been condemned, by the party which had overborne them, was alledged in proof of their enormities; and the circumstance that the Athenians, unable to effect their own deliverance, had owed it to the Lacedæmonians, was pressed upon public recollection. Shortly every occurrence was made, by some construction, to import a plot for establishing tyranny. Fear, suspicion, and their certain concomitant, a disposition to severity, thus gained complete possession of the public mind. Every one was bent to discover, by any means, the plot and its authors. Officers were appointed, intitled Examiners[6], with

Isocrat. pro Alcib. p. 138. t. 3.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 53.

Thucyd. ut ant. & Andoc. de myst.

[6] Ζητηταί.

full authority for every search and inquiry; and great rewards were offered for any who would indicate anything. The most suspicious and incoherent evidence only was obtained, from slaves and men of the vilest characters. But public alarm, once so excited, was not to be readily quieted. It was deemed better, says Thucydides, that just men should suffer, than that the constitution should be indangered. Many of principal rank and most respectable character were in consequence imprisoned. It appears indeed difficult to discover for whose benefit the Athenian constitution, as it now stood, was calculated. The lower people at least should have had some confidence in protection for innocence, from that government for which they were so anxious, and in which they were, nominally at least, supreme. But, on the contrary, when Peisander and Charicles, two of the examiners, appointed to that office by popular favor, declared their opinion that a plot for overthrowing the democracy was in agitation, and farther inquiry therefore necessary, upon the usual signal for assembling the council, all the people fled from the agora, every one fearful of accusation and imprisonment. Nor was this indiscriminating jealousy a humor that had its hour and passed: it held, and grew daily more severe. Suspicion extended; more persons were imprisoned; and there was no foreseeing where popular rage would stop.

SECT. III.

Andoc. de myst. p. 19.

Thucyd. ut ant.

It happened that while suspicion was most rife, yet what or whom to suspect was most uncertain, some movements in Bœotia occasioned the march of a small body of Lacedæmonians to the Corinthian isthmus. This circumstance increased suspicion into imagined certainty, and redoubled every former fear: the business of Bœotia was thought a feint;

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 61.

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intrigue with the obnoxious party in Athens, it was supposed, must be the real cause of the movement; and, for one night, the whole people watched in arms. The panic spred to Argos: designs against the democracy were suspected there; and, tho Alcibiades himself had conducted the removal of the principal Argians who favored oligarchy, and placed them in secure custody, divided among the ilands under the Athenian dominion, yet now the Athenian people gave up those unfortunate men to be put to death by the democratical party in Argos, as if connected in plot with the friends of Alcibiades.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 60. Andoc. de myst. Plut. vit. Alcib.

Alarm and the severities of an alarmed despot were still continuing to extend, when one of the most obnoxious of the imprisoned (Thucydides has avoided to name him, but we learn from his own extant oration, as well as from Plutarch's account, that it was Andocides) in conversation with one of his fellow-prisoners on their present sufferings and farther danger, yielded to the argument that, guilty or not guilty, it were better to confess something: 'The popular mind,' it was urged to Andocides, 'would evidently not otherwise be appeased; and 'a confession would not only be more likely, than 'perseverance in asserting innocence, to procure 'his own safety, but would restore quiet to the 'city; and tho some must be sacrificed, yet num-'bers might so be saved from that mad vengeance, 'excited by fear, which now threatened so indiscri-'minately and unboundedly.' Information, thus extorted by the pains of a prison and the fear of death, against several persons as concerned in the mutilation of the Mercuries, was received among the people with a childish joy. The dark plot was supposed completely discovered; the informers

were set at liberty, with all whom they did not accuse; of those whom they did accuse, tho proof of the facts alledged was utterly defective, yet none escaped capital condemnation: all who were in prison, or could be taken, suffered death immediately, and public rewards were offered for killing those who fled from this democratical justice. SECT. III.

To carry the business thus far, little or no deliberation was thought necessary. The difficulty was to bring within reach of the democratical dagger those of the accused who were with the army in Sicily; and especially Alcibiades himself, now become supremely the object of terror, as he had before been of favor with the people. His death, as Thucydides assures, was determined; but it was feared to apprehend, in the army, the favorite still of the army. It was farther feared lest the whole armament might be indangered by any tumult which should come to the knowlege of the enemy and incourage attack; and the defection of the Argian and Mantineian auxiliaries, whom the influence of Alcibiades had obtained for the service, was looked upon as a certain consequence of any severity against him. It was therefore resolved to send heralds in the sacred trireme called the Salaminian, not to arrest him or any other accused persons in the army, but simply, in the name of the people, to command their return to Athens. Immediate obedience was paid to this order: Alcibiades followed the Salaminian in his own trireme. In the usual course of the antient navigation, making the Italian coast, they stopped at the friendly town of Thurium, and there Alcibiades, and all the other accused, absconded together. The heralds and officers of the Salaminian, having made search and inquiry Thucyd. l. 6. c. 61.

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for some time to no purpose, returned without their prisoners; and the Athenian people pronounced sentence of death against them, in what was called a deserted judgement[7].

SECTION IV.

Feeble Conduct of Nicias: Oppression of the Sicels. First Measures against Syracuse. Preparations on both Sides in Winter. Intrigues among the Sicilian Cities. Transactions of the Winter in Greece. Reception of Alcibiades at Sparta. Resolution to renew the War with Athens.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 62.

THE soul of political intrigue and extensive enterprize being thus taken from the armament destined for the conquest of Sicily, it remained for Nicias, with Lamachus, to decide on measures. The plans of Alcibiades were immediately abandoned; probably indeed nobody remained capable of prosecuting them; and, according to the original proposal of Nicias, not likely nor indeed intended to lead to extensive conquest, it was determined to conduct the armament immediately toward Egesta and Selinus. In proceeding westward, they in vain attempted negotiation with Himera, the only Grecian city on the northern coast of the iland; but they succeeded in an assault upon Hyccara, a Sicanian town, whose inhabitants they made their own property as slaves, and then gave the place to the Egestans. Little zealous for the objects of his command, and thence apparently wavering about measures, Nicias went with a small escort only to Egesta, to demand the sup-

[7] Ερήμη Δίκη.

plies promised, or such supplies as the Egestan people were able to furnish; and all he could obtain was thirty talents, between seven and eight thousand pounds sterling. The concluding measures of the campain do him no honor: the prisoners, already acquired, were distributed aboard the fleet, which returned by the straits of Messena to its former station at Catana. The army marched for the same place by an inland road, through the country of the Sicels; and the unhappy barbarians suffered for the false promises of the Egestans. They were seized in such numbers that, a market being opened for the sale of them at Catana, they produced a hundred and twenty talents, about thirty thousand pounds sterling. The celebrated courtezan Laïs is said to have been a Sicel girl, sold on this occasion to a Corinthian merchant. An unsuccessful attempt upon the Geloän Hybla was the last operation of the campain. Plut. vit. Nic.

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Perhaps some peevishness, in a command which he originally disliked, in the course of which he met with little but disappointment, and which nevertheless he could not resign, coöperated with the necessity of his situation, in dictating a measure, to which the mild temper of Nicias, and his generally scrupulous regard for justice, would otherwise have been averse; tho, among the antients, even the philosophers, to drag barbarians, wherever met with, into slavery, was not commonly deemed a breach of either justice or humanity. But apparently Nicias found himself compelled to follow the opinions, and gratify the wishes of others, in still prosecuting the scheme of conquest. Money was absolutely necessary: the expectations of the Athenian people had met

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with the disappointment of Egesta, which he had always foreseen and foretold; and yet probably dared not ask to have it made good by remittances from Athens.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 63.

It was however determined, now after a campain nearly wasted, to carry war next against Syracuse; and with the beginning of winter preparation was begun for the purpose. Notwithstanding the vaunts of the democratical leaders there, the first certain news that the Athenian armament had crossed the Ionian gulph, excited alarm that went far to justify the advice of Lamachus. With every day's delay afterward, terror abated and confidence grew. But when, after the recall of Alcibiades, the armament moved away to the farther corner of Sicily, it began to be held even in contempt and derision; and when, on its return, still no movement was made towards Syracuse, the lower people, according to the manner of the multitude, as Thucydides remarks, growing in boldness, demanded of their chiefs to lead them to Catana. The chiefs were wiser than to comply; but the parties of horse, sent out to observe, would sometimes approach the Athenian camp, give ill language, and ask, 'if, instead of 'restoring the Leontines, the Athenians intended 'to settle themselves in Sicily?'

c. 64.

The Athenian army was so deficient in cavalry that it would have been hazardous, or however troublesome, to have marched through the open country toward Syracuse, in face of the Syracusan horse. The generals therefore proposed to profit from the present temper of the Syracusan people; which, in spite of any prudence in their leaders, would be likely to lead them to indiscretion. As in most of the Sicilian towns in the Syracusan

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interest, there was an Athenian party, so in Catana there was still a Syracusan party. A Catanian was gained, who had usually communicated with Syracuse. Through him the Syracusans were told, that the Athenian camp was negligently guarded; that many, both officers and private soldiers, commonly slept in the town; that, if the Syracusans would attack with their whole force at daybreak, their friends in Catana would rise, and they could not fail of success. A day was appointed for the attempt, which was accordingly made. Nicias and Lamachus, meanwhile, accurately informed of every circumstance, imbarking in the night all their Grecian forces, with some auxiliary Sicels, sailed for Syracuse; and, debarking totally unopposed, they seized a situation, opportune for operation against the city, and for communication with their fleet, and at the same time secure against the Syracusan horse; on one side defended by walls, houses, trees, and a pool of water; on the other by precipices: felled trees, arranged from the camp to the sea and to the village of Dascon, gave security to the naval station; works were hastily thrown up where the ground was less strong by nature or accident, and the bridge over the Anapus was broken.

Novemb. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 65.

The first intelligence of this movement filled the Syracusans with surprize and alarm. They hastily returned to Syracuse, looked at the Athenian camp, and finding it too strong to be attacked, incamped themselves for the night. Next morning, the generals little experienced, and the people little practised in military discipline, all imagined that to assault, not to be assaulted, would be theirs, and many went into the town,

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which was near. Meanwhile the Athenian generals, having ground now before them on which the enemy's horse would not be formidable, drew out of their camp in order of battle. The Syracusans then also hastily formed; and, however deficient in discipline and skill, Thucydides bears them testimony that they were not deficient in courage or in patriotic zeal. A sharp action insued: but a thunderstorm, with heavy rain, alarmed and disturbed the more inexperienced soldiers, and the Syracusan infantry at length everywhere gave way. Their horse, however, tho unable to take any considerable part in the battle, protected their flight, so that little execution was done in pursuit, and they retired within the city-walls.

This expedition appears to have been in itself very ably conducted by the Athenian generals; but it was little connected with any extensive plan of operation. On the morrow after the battle, having, in consequence of the usual application from the vanquished, restored the enemy's dead, to the number of only two hundred and sixty, they reïmbarked the whole of their forces, and returned to Catana. This flash of victory, however, had its advantageous consequences. It restored the sullied reputation of the Athenian arms, confirmed the allies, and opened means for farther negotiation within Sicily: it assisted moreover to save, if not to gain credit at home, and tended to prepare the Athenian people for receiving more favorably any application for supplies and reïnforcement. The want of cavalry had been experienced as the great deficiency of the armament. It was therefore determined to collect, during the winter, the greatest force of horse that could by any means be obtained within the iland, and also to apply for a body from

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 71.

home. A large supply of money was moreover indispensable; and it behooved the generals to exert themselves, in solicitation among allies, in rapine against enemies, that they might spare the Athenian treasury; upon which, nevertheless, some demand was unavoidable. The siege of Syracuse was resolved upon for the first object of the insuing campain. For the interval, the fleet was laid up, and the army disposed in quarters, at Naxus and Catana. SECT. IV.

Meanwhile among the Syracusans, tho much uneasiness arose from the late event, which so disappointed the opinion fondly entertained of their superiority to the Athenians, yet the misfortune was not without salutary consequences. The depression of the public mind imposed silence upon faction, repressed forward ignorance, and gave scope for abilities and patriotism to come forward. The general assembly met, and the people listened with anxious attention, while Hermocrates son of Hermon spoke. 'Their late defeat,' he said, 'was 'no cause for dejection such as he saw prevailing. 'Meer people, as they comparatively were, and not 'formed soldiers, it was much for them to have 'shown themselves so nearly equal to select troops, 'of the first reputation in Greece. Besides, the 'very circumstances of the action pointed out the 'means of future success. It was not in strength, 'but in order and discipline; not in bravery, but 'in system of command and subordination, that 'they were inferior. The alteration necessary was 'obvious; the chief commanders should be few, 'but they should be experienced; they should be 'trust-worthy, and they should be trusted. The 'winter should then be diligently employed in 'improving discipline: the force of heavy-armed

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'should be increased, by giving arms at the public 'expence to the poor but able-bodied citizens. 'Courage and confidence,' he continued, 'will of 'course revive, with improved system, improved 'skill, and increased force; and in spring, I doubt 'not but we may meet the enemy upon equal 'terms.'

It were indeed difficult to imagine anything more inconvenient, or more adverse to effectual exertion, than the system of military command which democratical jealousy, inforced by frequent sedition, had established at Syracuse. The supreme military authority was divided among no less than fifteen officers; and even this numerous board, if the term may be allowed, was, upon all momentous occasions, to take its orders from the people. But the present alarm, and the pressure of evident necessity, gave force to the advice of Hermocrates. The command in chief was committed to Hermocrates himself, with only two collegues, and they were vested with discretionary powers. Measures equally vigorous and judicious immediately followed. The great object, for a town expecting a siege, was to obviate contravallation. On the side therefore of the quarters called Temenites, and Epipolæ, the new generals extended the fortifications of the city; and they occupied with garrisons two critical posts in the neighborhood, the precinct of the temple of Olympieium, to the southward of the city on the farther bank of the river Anapus, and a fort named Megara. Having thus provided for immediate security, they extended their views. A watchful eye was kept upon the negotiations of the Athenians among the Sicilian states; and, information being received that the whole Athenian armament was assembled, for the remainder of the winter, at

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 75.

SECT. IV.

Naxus, an expedition was made, apparently more with a view to revive the drooping spirits of the people, than with the expectation of any other important advantage, to destroy the huts, which the Athenians had left standing, on the ground they had quitted near Catana.

Among the cities in alliance with Syracuse, the fidelity of Camarina, not the least powerful among them, was the most doubted. Tho accounted a Dorian people, the Camarinæans had been from of old adverse: they were the only Sicilian Dorians who had constantly refused to put themselves under the degrading and oppressive protection of the Syracusan commonwealth. To strengthen themselves in independency, while Laches commanded the Athenian forces in Sicily, they had ingaged in alliance with Athens; but by the general peace among the Sicilian cities, which Hermocrates had procured, without renouncing the Athenian alliance, they became allies also of Syracuse. When the armament under Nicias arrived in Sicily, the Syracusan government required assistance from Camarina; and, the dilatory conduct of the Athenian generals bringing their force into contempt, the Camarinæans, fearful of the resentment of a powerful neighbor, sent a body of auxiliary horse. The late demonstration of the superiority of the Athenian arms, would be likely to make a change in sentiment at Camarina, not favorable to the Syracusan interest; and it was known that the Athenian generals were carrying on negotiation there. To counterwork this, and win the Camarinæans to the Syracusan cause, Hermocrates thought it important enough to require that he should go himself at the head of an embassy to Camarina.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 75.

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As far as the connection with Athens only was to be dissuaded, the business undertaken by Hermocrates was easy. The notorious conduct, and even the avowed principles of the Athenian government, were such as could not but give alarm, wherever the Athenian power could be extended. Being admitted to audience by the Camarinæan people, Hermocrates justly urged, 'that the restoration of the Leontines, which the Athenians held out as their object in the invasion of Sicily, was a shallow pretence. The Leontines indeed were Ionians, kinsmen of the Athenians; but what were the Euboïc Chalcidians, the very people from whom the Leontines derived their immediate origin? Equally kinsmen of the Athenians, they were held in strict subjection, and denied the use of arms[8]. Protection to the semibarbarian Egestans could, still less than the restoration of the Leontines, be the reäl motive for sending so expensive an armament so far. It was in short not dubious that the subjugation equally of all the Sicilians was the object of Athenian ambition.' So far the arguments of Hermocrates were unanswerable. But when he was to justify the past conduct of Syracuse, and persuade the Camarinæans to assist the Syracusan cause, whatever fear the power of Athens might excite, the consideration of the nearer and more obvious danger preponderated, of servitude to a people of their own iland, their fellow-colonists; a servitude likely to be more severe, and certainly more grating. All therefore that could be obtained, by solicitation or remonstrance, urged with all the ability, and supported by the respectable character, of Hermocrates, was a declaration, 'that,

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 76. & seq.

[8] So Smith translates Ἀναρχάσιους, and I believe properly.

'being ingaged in alliance with both Athens and 'Syracuse, the Camarinæans could take no part, 'consistently with their oaths, but that of an exact 'neutrality.' SECT. IV.

While the Syracusan leaders were thus sedulous, tho not always successful, in negotiation within Sicily, they directed their attention also to those states in Greece itself, in which they might reasonably expect a disposition friendly to themselves, and were sure of a disposition hostile to Athens. An embassy was sent first to Corinth, the parent state of Syracuse. There a disposition was found, if not of the purest kindness to Syracuse, yet of the utmost readiness to oppose Athens. Ministers were appointed to accompany the Syracusan ministers to Lacedæmon, and assist in rousing the usually sluggish councils of that state. The ephors, and others of prevailing power there, were free to incourage by words, and willing even to assist by negotiation, but backward to give that more efficacious assistance which the necessities of Syracuse were likely to require.

But an Athenian was now become the most formidable foe to Athens. Alcibiades had passed in a merchant-ship, from the Thurian territory to the Eleian port of Cyllenë, whence he proceeded to Argos, where his interest, as we have seen, had been powerful. The establishment of his credit now with the democratical party there, would afford the fairest ground for its restoration with the democratical party in Athens; but the diligence of his opponents disappointed him. They procured a decree of the Athenian people for his banishment from Greece, and the mission of ministers to Argos to demand his person. He had hitherto hesitated to accept an invitation from Lacedæmon. A party

Thucyd. ut ant. Isocr. pro Alcib. p. 140. t. 3. Ch. 17. s. 3. of this Hist.

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there favored him: his connection by the claim of hereditary hospitality with the republic, and his services to many individuals, when prisoners in Athens, would recommend him. But he feared the body of the people, who might be apt to recollect, with no friendly mind, the evils which had been suffered, and the greater evils apprehended and risked, from the war excited in Peloponnesus by his ambition, his talents, and his influence; and he feared not less the prejudice, which could scarcely fail to be entertained against him, on account of his constant connection with the democratical, and opposition to the oligarchal interest, in his own country. The leading men, however, in general, even those otherwise less well disposed to him, aware that he was capable of being no less a useful friend than a pernicious enemy, were in the moment, willing to forget every objection to him. He judged it unsafe to remain longer in Argos; he was therefore ready to go wherever circumstances might afford any prospect of advantage; and, a safe-conduct being sent to him, he went to Sparta.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 89.

On his arrival he found a general disposition in his favor, rather such as he might have wished, than such as could reasonably be expected. The senate assembled, and, the people being summoned to give him audience, all listened with anxious attention, while he communicated information and advice. 'The views of conquest entertained at 'Athens,' he said, 'were extensive. It was pro- 'posed first to reduce all Sicily; then the Grecian 'possessions in Italy. With the inexhaustible sup- 'ply of ship-timber which Italy afforded, it was 'intended so to increase the fleet, that the conquest 'of Carthage might be undertaken. Spain and all 'the western shores of the Mediterranean would

c. 90.

'then be open; whence mercenary troops might 'be obtained, in any numbers, and the best of their 'kind. These would be employed against Pelo- 'ponnesus by land, while the fleet should blockade 'it by sea; and thus it was proposed to complete 'the subjugation of Greece. The conquered coun- 'tries, it was expected, each as it was reduced, 'would furnish supplies for farther conquest, with- 'out burthening Athens. SECT. IV.

'And however wild and visionary,' continued Alcibiades, 'these vast projects may on first view 'appear, I, who have long meditated upon them, 'who know the resources of Athens, who have 'seen the deficiencies of the ill-constituted and un- 'connected commonwealths against which its arms 'are now directed, am confident that success is not 'impossible. The Sicilian Greeks have little mili- 'tary discipline or skill. Syracuse, having already 'suffered a defeat by land, will presently be block- 'aded by land and sea; and, unassisted, must una- 'voidably fall. Sicily may then be considered as 'conquered, and Italy will not hold out long. Thus 'not Sicily only, but Peloponnesus itself, is deeply 'interested in the event.' Thucyd. l. 6. c. 91.

Having by this representation sufficiently alarmed the Lacedæmonians, he proceeded to inform them how the threatened danger might be averted. 'A fleet,' he said, 'you have not, equal to oppose 'the Athenian; but troops may be sent to Sicily, 'making them work their own passage, in sufficient 'number to form, with the Sicilians, a competent 'force of regular heavy-armed. But, what I hold 'of more importance than any troops you can send, 'let a Spartan general go to Sicily; who may esta- 'blish discipline among the Sicilians already firm 'in the cause, and whose authority may bring over,

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'and hold united under one command, those not 'disposed to obey the Syracusans. Thus, more 'than by any other measure, your decided friends 'will be incouraged, and those dubiously affected 'will be confirmed in your interest.

'But it will be necessary, for the incouragement 'of the Syracusans and the distraction of the 'Athenians, without reserve to begin hostilities 'in Greece. Nothing can be so efficacious, and 'nothing the Athenians so much dread, as your 'occupying and fortifying a post within Attica; 'and for this purpose the town of Deceleia is to be 'preferred. Thus their country will no longer be 'theirs but yours; no revenue will accrue to them 'from it; even that from the silver-mines of Lau-'reium may be stopped: but, what is still more im-'portant, nothing will equally superinduce the revolt 'of those distant possessions, whence their principal 'revenue is derived, as the knowlege that they are 'pressed at home.'

After having thus indicated and advised whatever would most contribute to his country's downfall, Alcibiades thought, for his character's sake, however persecuted by that country, some apology necessary for such conduct. 'I hold that,' he said, 'no longer my country, which is governed by a set 'of men who have so injuriously driven me from it. 'Nor ought I to be considered as persuading war 'against my country; but rather as endevoring to 'restore myself to the country which was once 'mine, and to restore that country to its due go-'vernment within itself, and its just situation among 'the Grecian republics. I account him a true 'patriot, not who, being unjustly expelled, rests in 'banishment, but who, still animated by love of his 'country, does his utmost to restore himself. Upon

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 92.

'you, Lacedæmonians, I depend for the greatest 'benefits, to my country not less than to myself. 'You may trust me therefore that there is no danger, 'no hardship, which I am not ready to undergo in 'your service, and that I shall have every satisfac- 'tion in coöperating with you, to pull down the ty- 'rannical power, now usurped by Athens, and 'restoring Greece to that happy situation, in which 'you, by common consent, and not by violence, 'presided over it.' SECT. IV.

The eloquence of Alcibiades, his advice, but still more the expectation of advantage from the important information which he was unquestionably able to give concerning every circumstance of Athenian affairs, decided the Lacedæmonians, and it was resolved to assist Syracuse, and to renew the war with Athens. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 93.

SECTION V.

Measures of the Peloponnesians to relieve Syracuse. Measures of the Athenian Armament in Sicily: Reinforcement to the Athenian Armament in Sicily: Siege of Syracuse: Capitulation proposed: Arrival of Gylippus and Pythen to the Relief of Syracuse. Official Letter of Nicias to the Athenian People.

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The resolution for war being taken at Lacedæmon, the business of Sicily required the first attention. To command the force to be employed there, Gylippus was appointed, son of Cleändridas, who had been banished, when tutor to the young king Pleistoanax, for misconduct in a former war with Athens, and on suspicion of taking bribes from Pericles. Gylippus was directed to consult, with the leading men of Corinth and Syracuse, about the readiest

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 93. Ch. 13. s. 5. of this Hist.

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and best means for transporting troops to Sicily; but those troops were to be collected as they might among the allied states, Lacedæmon furnishing none. A man, however, more qualified than Gylippus, for the business committed to him, could hardly have been selected; and, sparing as Lacedæmon was of troops and treasure, the authority and influence with which he was largely vested, were, as we find by their effects, of extraordinary power. Ordering two Corinthian triremes to attend him immediately at Asinë, he urged the diligent preparation of the rest of the force to be employed under his command.

B.C. 414. Ol. 91. 2. P. W. 18. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 95.

The resolution taken, for renewing war with Athens, might give to expect some restored vigor in the Lacedæmonian councils; but the first operations of the Lacedæmonian arms indicated none. In spring the force of Laconia was assembled, and marched against the Argian territory. On its arrival at Cleonæ, an earthquake, a common circumstance in most parts of Greece, and especially in Laconia, without doing any considerable mischief, threw all into consternation: superstition saw in it the anger of the gods declared; the army immediately retreated, and the expedition was given up. Such conduct incouraged and invited the Argians to revenge. Entering the Lacedæmonian territory of Thyreatis, they collected plunder that sold for twenty-five talents, about six thousand pounds sterling; which was esteemed a large booty, well rewarding the enterprize.

c. 95.

A conspiracy, which about the same time broke out in the little city of Thespiæ in Bœotia, requires mention, as it tends to illustrate the state of Greece. The democratical party rose against their oligarchal magistrates; the Athenians marched a

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body of troops to support them. The insurgents were nevertheless overpowered; some were apprehended (what they suffered we are not informed) and the rest fled to Athens.

During winter, the Athenian generals in Sicily had not neglected such measures for promoting their business, as the season would permit. Soon after disposing their troops in quarters they marched with their whole force to Messena, in hope of gaining that city, through intelligence long maintained with a party there: but Alcibiades, who, before his flight, had been privy to the negotiation, gave warning of the danger. The Athenian armament therefore, after suffering in a winter camp for thirteen days, was obliged to return, without effecting anything but the destruction of some of the principal Messenians of their own party, who were seized by their opponents, condemned as traitors, and executed. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 74.

Some negotiations among the Sicel tribes had a more fortunate issue. Those of the plains, indeed, habituated to subjection under the Syracusan government, and ready objects of Syracusan resentment, could few of them be persuaded to revolt: but the midland mountaineers, who had always preserved independency, and considered the Syracusans as their natural enemies, were predisposed to the Athenian cause. Most of them readily furnished provisions, and some even paid contributions in money. A small force brought to terms a few who were found adverse, and relieved some others, more favorably inclined, from the restraint in which they had been held by Syracusan garrisons. c. 88.

Toward the approach of spring the whole Athenian armament moved from Naxus to Catana, to l. 6.

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be nearer its principal object; and negotiation was extended as far as Tuscany and Carthage. Overtures had been received from Tuscany, yet the result seems to have been little important, and it does not appear that the negotiation with Carthage produced anything. The generals however succeeded in collecting, within Sicily, horses for a body of cavalry. Iron, bricks, and other materials, necessary for the proposed contravallation, were prepared, and every disposition was made for undertaking the siege of Syracuse.

B.C. 414. P. W. 18. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 94.

Early in spring the army marched. The lands of Megara, which, since the depopulation of the city by Gelon, had been Syracusan property, were ravaged. An attempt upon a fort held by a Syracusan garrison failed; but the vale of the river Tereas was plundered unopposed, the standing corn burnt, and, a small body of Syracusans interfering to check the ravage, some were killed, the rest fled. For this little success a trophy was erected, and the army returned to Catana. After a short time, for refreshment, the generals moved again, gained the Sicel town of Centoripa by capitulation, and burnt the corn of the adverse Sicel tribes of Inessa and Hybla. Returning then to Catana, they found the supplies and reïnforcements from Athens arrived. For the passion of the Athenian people for conquest in Sicily had

c. 93.

not abated: the application of the generals had met with favor far beyond their expectation; and all their requests were granted without demur. No addition of infantry had been desired: there were sent two hundred and fifty horse-soldiers, with complete accoutrements, but without horses; three hundred talents in silver, amounting to about seventy-five thousand pounds sterling; and stores of all necessary kinds in abundance.

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The generals resolved then immediately to lay siege to Syracuse. Nature, art, and a numerous population, concurred to make Syracuse strong; and to reduce a place, of but moderate strength, we have seen, in the art of attack of that age, a contravallation always was necessary. Here two difficulties opposed; the extent of the town, and the form of a hill, over the skirt of which a suburb extended. The hill, sloping toward the town, was precipitous toward the country: and the suburb, from its situation, overlooking the town, was called Epipolæ[9]. The Syracusan generals were apprized of the intention of the enemy; they were not uninformed of the usual mode of conducting sieges; and they were aware how important it would be to occupy the hill of Epipolæ. But they were new in command; discipline remained yet to be established among their troops; and, till danger became pressing, notwithstanding the vote conferring on them discretionary power, the attempt would be hazardous to inforce discipline among those who, by a simple vote, might take away the power they had given. Not therefore till it was known that the Athenians had collected a considerable body of cavalry, and were already prepared to march for Syracuse, Hermocrates and his collegues ventured to take measures for appointing guards and distributing duty. At day-break they led all the Syracusan citizens, within the age for service, into a meadow on the bank of the Anapus. After a review of arms, they appointed a select body of seven hundred men to be stationed in Epipolæ, as a kind of picket-guard to give assistance

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 96.

[9] Nearly synonimous with the English name Overton.

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wherever danger might press, but to be particularly a protection for that very important post. An Andrian refugee, named Diomilus, versed, as a subject of Athens, in the Athenian discipline, was appointed to the command of the body selected for so critical a service; a circumstance strongly indicating how conscious the Syracusan generals were of the inferior skill and experience of their own officers.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 97.

On the very night preceding these measures of the Syracusans, the Athenian generals, imbarking their whole army, had passed, undiscovered, to a place near Syracuse, called Leon, where a body of infantry was hastily debarked, which proceeded immediately to Epipolæ, less than a mile distant, and by a pass called Euryelus, mounted the hill unopposed. Information of this surprize being next morning carried to the Syracusans, occupied in the meadow of the Anapus at the distance of three miles, excited great consternation. Courage however did not fail them. With much zeal, but much disorder, all hastened to repel the invaders. A fierce conflict insued: but tumultuous valor was little efficacious against steddy discipline. The Syracusans were compelled to retreat, with the loss of three hundred heavy-armed, among whom fell Diomilus, the newly appointed commander of the select band. The near refuge of their walls prevented greater slaughter.

Next morning the Athenians drew out into the plain to offer battle: but the temper of the Syracusan people, chastised by the event of the preceding day, no longer disposed them to put violence upon the prudence of their generals, and they did not stir. The Athenians, returning to Epipolæ, applied themselves to construct a fort at

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Thucyd. l. 6. c. 98.

Labdalum, among the highest precipices, as a citadel, in which to deposit their military chest and other valuables[10]. While thus employed they were joined by three hundred Egestans, and one hundred Naxian and Sicel cavalry; and, the Athenian troopers being mounted, the cavalry of the army all together, exclusive of the horse-bowmen, were now six hundred and fifty. The fort being quickly completed, the army descended into the plain, and the work of contravallation was immediately begun.

Syracuse was built between two inlets of the sea, called the Great port, and the Trogilian port; and it nearly inclosed a third, called the Little, or the Ortygian port, which was separated from the great port only by the little iland of Ortygia, the site of the original city. On the inland side of the town rose the hill of Epipolæ[11]. It was the

[10] Τοῖς τε σκεύεσι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἀποθήκη.

[11] The site of Syracuse is thus described by a modern traveller: 'The antient city of Syracuse was of a triangular 'form, and consisted of five parts or towns; Ortygia, or the 'iland; Achradina, that faced the sea; Tychë, joined to 'Achradina on the east; Neapolis, which lay along the side 'of the great port; and, at the western extremity, Epipolæ. 'Some lofty rocks, crowned with ramparts, formed a strong 'defence all around, except in Neapolis, where the walls, 'crossed the low-grounds. The circuit, according to Strabo, 'amounted to a hundred and eighty stadia, twenty-two Eng-'lish miles and a half; an account I once suspected of exag-'geration; but, after spending two days in tracing the ruins, 'and making reasonable allowances for incroachments of the 'sea, I was convinced of the exactness of the measurement.' Swinburne's Travels in the Two Sicilies, p. 327. v. 2.

It will be observed that this writer speaks of Syracuse when it had acquired its greatest extent, some time after the age of the Peloponnesian war. His account of the extensive circle of prospect from the summit of Euryelus may deserve notice here:

'Toward the north,' he says, 'the eye wanders over vast 'plains along a line of coast, to the foot of Ætna, whose 'mighty cone shuts up the horizon with unspeakable majesty. 'The mountains of Italy rise like clouds, on each side of it.

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business of the Athenians to carry their works of contravallation from Epipolæ to the sea on each side; to the Trogilian port on the north, to the great port on the south. They began on the northern side, and through their superior practice and skill, every possible preparation having been made during winter, the business advanced so rapidly as to astonish not less than it alarmed the Syracusans. At a loss for measures to oppose to it, their generals resolved to venture a battle, rather than quietly permit the prosecution of works, which threatened, in their completion, the inevitable capture of the city. They accordingly led out their forces; but, in approaching the enemy, their order became deranged, and deficient discipline among the troops baffled their endevors to restore it. They had the prudence immediately to command hasty retreat, and were fortunate enough, under the protection of their horse, to get within their walls again with little loss.

This check was salutary to the Syracusans, as it tended to repress that intemperate ardor, which very inconveniently interfered with the authority of the generals; and the genius of Hermocrates soon led him to the measures most proper in the existing circumstances. The Athenian works would be effectual only if the contravallation were completed. They were yet confined to the northern side of the

'Southward the city of Syracuse, now reduced to its original 'spot, Ortygia, once an iland, but now a peninsula, still con- 'taining eighteen thousand inhabitants, seems to float on the 'bosom of the waters, guarding the entrance of its noble har- 'bour. The Plemmyrian peninsula locks it on the opposite 'shore, beyond which an expanse of sea is seen, stretching 'away to Cape Passaro. The hills of Noto bound the view 'to the southward, and the foreground is every where an 'expanse of rich level plains, thickly planted, and watered by 'the winding stream of the Anapus.' p. 336.

town: on the southern side therefore, between Epipolæ and the great port, Hermocrates carried out a work from the town-wall, cutting the proposed line of the enemy's contravallation. He expected that his work would be interrupted, and perhaps destroyed; but even thus he foresaw considerable advantage from it. If the enemy assailed it with the whole of their forces, he would retire, and he had his end in the interruption of their works; if with a part, he would oppose with his whole force, and so would probably be superior. The Athenian generals however knew their business: they permitted him to complete his work without disturbance: a guard was placed in it, and the rest of the forces withdrew into the city. Tho circumstances had occurred powerfully to repress forward rashness among the Syracusans, yet Hermocrates had not yet been able to establish due subordination among those who, having chosen him their commander, retained nevertheless, by the constitution of Syracuse, legal power still to command him. The Athenians, from the heights of Epipolæ, observed the disorderly negligence of the Syracusan guard; and, in the heat of mid-day, when part were strayed into the city, and the rest mostly reposing in their huts, a chosen detachment, supported by a strong body, assaulted the fort, while the rest of the army distracted the enemy's attention by a false attack in another quarter. The guard of the fort immediately fled. The Athenians and Argians pursuing, entered that quarter of Syracuse called Temenites. They were however quickly overpowered, and compelled to retire out of the city with some loss; but they demolished the counterwork, carried off many of the piles, and, in claim of victory, erected their trophy.

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Thucyd. l. 6. c. 99.

c. 100.

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On the next morning they began the contravallation on the southern side, from Epipolæ toward the great port. The Syracusans, urged by their evidently growing danger, notwithstanding their late ill success, began a fresh counterwork, across a marsh lying between the town and the river Anapus, and nearer the sea than their former work. The Athenian generals, upon this, ordered their fleet from Thapsus, where it had hitherto lain, into the great harbor. Nicias was at this time confined by ilness. Under the command of Lamachus, therefore, the Athenian forces issued at daybreak from Epipolæ, and making their way across the soft ground of the marsh upon planks, stormed the new work of the Syracusans, and routed the forces which came out of the town for its protection. The right of those forces easily reached the town again; but the left made for a bridge over the Anapus. The Athenians endevored to intercept them; but the Syracusan horse, of which the greater part was in that wing, facing about unexpectedly, charged the more advanced of the Athenian troops, repulsed them, and spred confusion through their right wing. Lamachus, who was in the left, hastening with a small body of bowmen, to restore order in the right, and imprudently passing a deep ditch, by which ready assistance was prevented, he was overpowered and killed, with five or six of those about him. The Athenian left, however, advancing, the Syracusans retreated again hastily, but carried off with them the body of the Athenian general, and crossing the river, were there secure. The momentary success of their comrades, meanwhile, incouraging the Syracusans who had fled into the city, their leaders conceived the bold ideä of assaulting Epipolæ, which they rightly judged would, upon the

Thucyd l. 6. c. 101.

c. 102.

present occasion, be left with a small guard. Accordingly they took and demolished an outwork, and might have taken the whole, so weak was it left, but for the orders, judiciously given by Nicias, to the numerous slaves attending the army, to set fire to the wood, not sparing the machines, which lay before the wall. A flame was thus quickly raised, which checked the assailants; and, the Athenian army hastening to the relief of their principal post, while their fleet was seen entering the great harbor, the Syracusans retreated within their walls. SECT. V.

All hope of intercepting the contravallation, or by any means preventing its completion, was now given up by the besieged; and despondency, and its consequence, discord, began to gain among them. This became quickly known among the neighboring states; and a general disposition to abandon the Syracusans, and to fear and flatter the Athenians, followed. This temper spred as far as the Italian cities: apprehensions arose that their refusal to furnish a market might draw on them the vengeance of the conquering commonwealth; and supplies flowed to the Athenian armament from all quarters. Those of the Sicel tribes also, who had before superciliously rejected invitation from the Athenians, now solicited their alliance; and from Tuscany three penteconters joined the fleet. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 103.

Meanwhile the Syracusan multitude, impotent against their enemies, vented their discontent against their generals, and Hermocrates and his collegues were removed from their office. One of them, however, Heracleides (unless it was another person of the same name) was restored, and Eucles and Tellias were associated with him in the command. At the same time suspicion of treachery be-

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Athenian interest. In all these negotiations the very name of Lacedæmon, as Thucydides assures us, powerfully seconded the activity and abilities of Gylippus. The Selinuntines indeed, who beyond others owed zeal to the cause, deceived his just expectation, sending only a small body of light-armed: the Geloans also sent only a small body, but it was cavalry; the Sicels joined him with a thousand men. His force all together, with attending slaves, might be about five thousand.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 2.

During these transactions in Sicily, the squadron, assembled at Leucas, sailed for the Italian coast, leaving behind Gongylus, one of the Corinthian commanders, who happened not to be ready. This accidental circumstance had most important consequences. Gongylus, as soon as himself and his trireme were prepared, pushing across the gulf, without making the usual circuit of the Italian shore, arrived on the Sicilian coast before the squadron, and entered the harbor of Syracuse unopposed. For Nicias, thinking success now assured, and holding in contempt the force which he heard was approaching, kept little watch; and tho he had not disdained to send four triremes to prevent the passage of Gylippus through the strait of Messena, yet he sent them too late. The arrival of Gongylus was most critical. Summons had been issued for a general assembly to meet for the declared purpose of debating concerning terms of capitulation. Uncertain hope, raised by the arrival of the Corinthian admiral, gave strength to the party adverse to the surrender: the question of capitulation was postponed: Gongylus was allowed to address the people; and the warm assurances he gave of speedy and effectual succour, not from Corinth only, but from Lacedæmon (for the authority

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of the Lacedæmonian name, says again Thucydides, was of principal weight) wrought such a turn in the popular mind, that the chiefs ventured to propose to march out and meet Gylippus, who, from communication which had passed, was known to be approaching.

It could not be without gross neglect in Nicias, that, with a force of scarcely two thousand heavy-armed, and those for the most part but inferior troops, Gylippus shortly after ascended Epipolæ unopposed, by the same way of Euryelus, by which the Athenians had first obtained possession of that important post. The Syracusan forces actually went out to meet him; and to the astonishment of the Athenian general and army, busied in the works on the south of the city, the combined forces made their appearance as if offering battle. Gylippus however had the precaution to halt while retreat was still at his option, and he sent forward a herald with the proposal, 'That if the Athenians 'would quit Sicily in five days with their arms and 'baggage, he was willing to make a truce for the 'purpose.' The message was of course received with disdain, amid their astonishment, by those who thought themselves on the point of becoming conquerors of Syracuse and of Sicily. Nicias, however, continued motionless, while the herald was simply ordered to withdraw. Meantime the able Gylippus had had sufficient opportunity to observe, that the Syracusan forces were deficient in discipline, to a degree beyond what he had imagined; that they were utterly unable to form on uneven and confined ground; and that the first thing necessary for him was to retreat for more space. Nicias made no attempt to profit from any of these circumstances, but remained behind his

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 3.

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works. Gylippus, thus allowed to retire at leisure, chose his camp for the night on the high ground of Temenites.

Next morning the combined forces appeared again in order of battle, in front of the Athenian works, and by their position intercluded the communication of the Athenian general with his fort of Labdalum, and with his northern lines. Nicias continued still unaccountably motionless, while Gylippus sent a strong detachment which stormed the fort, and put the garrison to the sword. A smaller occurrence on the same day contributed to raise the spirits of the Syracusans; an Athenian trireme was taken at the harbor's mouth.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 4.

Gylippus having, by this succession of daring but well concerted measures, in his outset, wholly changed the face of affairs, insomuch that not only the city was very effectually relieved, but the Athenian army was now rather in a situation of some danger, prudently checked the spirit of enterprize, that he might give stability to the advantage obtained. Master of Epipolæ through his success against Labdalum, he began immediately to carry out works to intersect the Athenian works, using the materials which the Athenians themselves had collected. Meanwhile Nicias, aware that the moment of opportunity for that great success with which he had lately had reason to flatter himself, was gone by, and that, however he might still be superior in the field, to take Syracuse was beyond his present strength, continued nevertheless to prosecute his southern work toward the sea. In a country where all was inimical, to keep his communication open with his fleet, would be necessary to the subsistence of his army, and might become necessary even to its safety. Occupying therefore the headland of

Plemmyrium, on the southern side of the entrance of the great harbor, he raised there three redoubts, in which he placed the greater part of the baggage and stores of his army, and near them he stationed his ships of burden and small craft. This measure, well conceived in regard to the objects particularly in view, was, however, attended with great inconveniencies. The soil was swampy and unwholesome; the water brackish; the Syracusan fort of Olympieium was near, and a body of horse, stationed there by Gylippus, gave unceasing annoyance; watching the wood and water-parties, cutting off stragglers, and making it dangerous to stir from the camp, but in powerful bodies. SECT. V.

It was not long before Gylippus again drew out his forces and offered battle; and Nicias now, at length, did not refuse to meet him. The field was very narrow, confined between the contravallation and the city-wall. The Syracusan horse had not space for action, and the infantry, pressed by the superior discipline of the Athenians, soon retreated within their fortifications. It seems to have been the purpose of Gylippus to give practice to the Syracusans, with the least possible risk, and make them experience the necessity of submitting to the severity of Spartan discipline, if they would hope for the success for which the Spartan arms were renowned. Addressing them in assembly, he took all the blame of the late failure to himself; condemned his misapplication of their cavalry; praised the valor shown by their infantry; and flattered them with remarking that, being of the same Dorian origin with the Lacedæmonians, they ought to hold themselves superior to Ionians and ilanders of the Ægean; and he doubted not but they would Thucyd. l. 7. c. 5.

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quickly show it, by driving those intruding adventurers out of their country.

He soon gave them opportunity of trial. Nicias would rather have avoided action, but that the Syracusan counterwork from Epipolæ alarmed him. Already it barely did not intersect the line of the Athenian contravallation; and if completed would, according to Thucydides, not only prevent the completion of the contravallation, but give to the Syracusans both the choice when they would ingage, and certain advantage in action. Gylippus so chose his ground that his cavalry could attack the Athenian left in flank. The wing was thus thrown into a confusion, which spred in some degree through the line, and Nicias hastily withdrew behind his works. Having thus established, in his own army, the opinion that they were superior in the field, Gylippus prosecuted assiduously his projecting work, and it was quickly carried beyond the Athenian line. This being effected, says Thucydides, if the Syracusans should now have the misfortune to be defeated in battle, and reduced to confine themselves within their walls, it would nevertheless be scarcely possible for the Athenians to complete their contravallation.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 6.

But adversity began to pour upon the Athenians. Nicias had sent twenty triremes to the Italian coast to intercept the squadron from Leucas. His army had scarcely recovered from the consternation of their late defeat, when they saw the enemy's squadron, consisting of twelve triremes, enter the little harbor of Syracuse. The strength, thus added, gave the city, for the present, complete security. It was therefore resolved to act upon the offensive against the Athenians; and with this view it was proposed to collect a still greater strength, for which

c. 4.

c. 7.

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the credit of prosperous circumstances and recent success would best give means. Ministers were sent to Lacedæmon and Corinth; and the active Gylippus went himself around the Sicilian cities, to excite the lukewarm, and win the adverse, to exert themselves in the cause of Lacedæmon and of Syracuse, which he contended, was the cause of liberty, of justice, and of the general interest of Sicily.

What opinion the Athenian general now held of his own situation, we learn from his own account, transmitted by Thucydides. Writing was but beginning to come into common use for ordinary purposes. The dispatches of generals were mostly, or, it rather appears, universally, committed to trusty messengers, who delivered them verbally. Thucydides speaks of Nicias as the first general who made it his practice to transmit his reports home constantly in writing. He had observed, says the historian, that messengers, in delivering verbally to the sovereign people in assembly the reports committed to them, sometimes through inability to express themselves clearly, sometimes through fear of relating the whole of unpleasant truths, sometimes through hope of conciliating favor by exaggerating agreeable circumstances, generally gave an impression wide of the reality. From his first appointment therefore to a command with which he had always been little satisfied, and in which complex operations were to be conducted at a greater distance from home than had been usual for the Athenian arms, he had used the precaution of frequently sending dispatches in writing, with an exact account of every transaction; and these were always formally red to the assembled people, by the secretary of the

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 8.

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commonwealth[12]. He had now determined, in consequence of his ill success in the late battle, to remain upon the defensive for the rest of the summer. For this he thought it necessary to apologize very particularly in his dispatches to Athens. He therefore committed them to officers whom he selected as most competent to answer any questions that might be put to them, yet he scrupulously protested that his written dispatches only should be considered as having his authority.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 11.

In these he represented, that, 'After having 'nearly attained the object of the expedition, when 'Syracuse was already reduced to extremity, the 'arrival of Gylippus, with a considerable reïnforce-'ment, partly Peloponnesian and partly collected in 'Sicily, had changed the face of affairs: that he 'had nevertheless been victorious in the first action, 'but the superiority of the enemy in cavalry and 'troops of missile weapons, was, under able con-'duct, too much for him to resist; and, in a second 'action, he had been constrained to retreat: that it 'was in consequence now become necessary to con-'fine himself within his lines, to forego offensive 'operations, and to consult principally how he 'might best insure the safety of his army against 'superior numbers; for, instead of besieging, it 'was rather reduced to the condition of a camp 'besieged: that the superiority of the Syracusan 'cavalry rendered any communication with the 'country highly dangerous: that, for increase of

c. 12.

'evil, he not only apprehended a strong alliance 'within Sicily against the Athenian interest, but 'was assured that additional forces would arrive 'from Peloponnesus; and that, finally, he was

[12] Ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως. c. 10.

'threatened with attack, not by land only, but by 'sea. The fleet,' he proceeded to observe, 'had 'unavoidably gone fast to decay; the ships were 'become leaky; the crews diminished; the enemy 'had not only had more ships, but, secure against 'attack, they could chuse when they would attack 'him: it was therefore necessary for his fleet to be 'unremittingly watchful: the guard of the naval 'camp, and convoys for the introduction of provi- 'sions and stores, kept the whole on constant duty: 'the crews, forced to go far for wood and water, 'were continually suffering from the Syracusan 'horse. Meanwhile not only the slaves deserted 'in numbers to the enemy, but the auxiliaries and 'mercenaries, who had hoped that plunder more 'than fighting would be their business in Sicily, 'now they saw the Athenian armament declining, 'and the enemy growing in vigor, went home with- 'out leave. Sicily,' continued the unfortunate general, 'is wide; and, wholly to prevent these 'desertions, is impossible; even to check them is 'difficult; and of all losses to an armament, that 'of able seamen is least easily repaired. Nor are 'these the only evils that press us: what is to me 'most distressing, both to feel and to complain of, 'remains yet to be mentioned. Your temper, Athe- 'nians, is adverse to subordination. The army is 'a part of you; a part of that soverein people on 'whom my power wholly depends; and I find my 'authority insufficient to control the perverse dispo- 'sition, and restrain the pernicious conduct, of 'some under my command. Meanwhile the ene- 'my abound in resources, and we are destitute; for 'Naxus and Catana, our only allies in this part of 'the world, are little able to assist us. If then, in 'addition to existing evils, the Italian cities, whence

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Thucyd. l. 7. c. 13.

c. 14.

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'our supplies of provisions have been principally 'drawn, should be induced, by the ill state of our 'affairs and your neglect of us, to refuse farther 'assistance, we should be at once undone, and the 'enemy would have a complete triumph without 'the risk of a blow.

'I could have sent a more pleasing account, 'but I could not send intelligence which it more 'imports you to receive. I know your disposi- 'tion to be gratified by favorable reports of your 'affairs; but then I know too the change that 'follows in your temper, when the event disap- 'points expectation; and I have therefore thought 'it best to explain to you, without reserve, the 'reäl state of things.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 15.

'Since, then, I can affirm that neither your 'generals, nor your army, have deserved blame 'for their conduct in your service here, since 'Sicily is now united against us, and reïnforce- 'ments are expected from Peloponnesus, I will 'venture to declare that it is become absolutely 'necessary for you to determine on one of two 'measures: either your forces now here must be 'immediately recalled; or an additional arma- 'ment, not inferior in either land or naval force 'to the former, must be sent hither: it must be 'here early in spring, and a large sum of money 'for its use will be indispensable. For myself, I 'request that I may be superseded in the com- 'mand, for which ill health disqualifies me; and 'I hope I may be allowed to claim this as an 'honorable indulgence due for my past services.'

The Athenians were not yet practised enough in misfortune to listen to wise advice thwarting a favorite purpose. Ambition was a popular passion, not resting on incitement from Alcibiades. The

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pertinacity indeed and the vehemence with which its objects were pursued, considered together with the near prospect of success, even under the disadvantage of his removal from the execution of the vast projects which he had conceived, may indeed afford no small amount of apology for his conduct in directing the effervescence, which apparently none could still. The Athenian people would not, on the remonstrances of Nicias, give up their views of conquest in Sicily: they would not even allow their infirm and deserving general to retire. An additional force was immediately voted; Nicias was required to remain with the command in chief; Menander and Euthydemus, officers now in Sicily, were appointed his present assistants in the duty: Demosthenes, son of Alcisthenes, who had already so much distinguished himself by important services, and Eurymedon son of Theocles, who had commanded at Corcyra, at Pylus, and in Sicily, were named to lead the reïnforcement. As an earnest of the resolution of the Athenian people to give the utmost support to their friends in Sicily, Eurymedon was sent forward about midwinter, with ten triremes and twenty talents of silver, while Demosthenes remained to superintend the equipment of the rest of the armament.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 16.

SECTION VI.

Decelcia in Attica occupied by the Lacedæmonians. Fresh Reinforcements for the Athenian Armament in Sicily. Naval Action in the Harbor of Syracuse. Distress of Athens. Tax upon the states subject to Athens. Massacre in Bœotia. Naval Action in the Corinthian Gulph.

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WHILE the Athenians were thus madly intent upon distant conquest, a more serious attack than they had yet experienced, was preparing against their own country. The success of Gylippus, the prospect of assistance from the whole force of Sicily, the evident embarrassment of Athens, the exhortations of Corinth, the advice of Alcibiades, and the important information and assistance which he was capable of giving, now all together determined the Lacedæmonians to recommence hostilities immediately against Athens. They were farther incouraged, says the historian, by the consideration that justice (not simple justice, or a due consideration of the rights of men, which Grecian religion little taught to regard, but justice ratified by a solemn appeal to the gods) was now on their side. Their misfortunes, in the latter years of hostility, had led them to reflect that the beginning of the war had, on their part, teemed with injustice, and breach of solemnly plighted faith. Such were the refusal to submit their disputes with Athens to a judicial determination; the support of the violence committed by the Thebans against Platæa; and the first invasion of Attica. On the contrary, since the truce, the Athenians had always refused to submit matters in dispute to judicial inquiry, which the Lacedæmonians had frequently demanded. The same transgression, therefore, which they thought

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 18.

had already brought the vengeance of the gods on themselves, they concluded would now bring it on the Athenians. The war thus became popular, and to prosecute hostilities with vigor was determined with alacrity. It was resolved to carry into execution the long meditated purpose of occupying a post in Attica; and, in pursuance of the advice of Alcibiades, Deceleia was the place chosen. During winter the necessary materials for fortifying it were collected, especially iron, and preparation was also made for giving effectual assistance to Sicily. SECT. VI.

In the beginning of next spring, at a very early season for military operations, the Lacedæmonians with their allies, under Agis son of Archidamus, entered Attica; and after extending ravage over the plain, which had been abandoned to them, applied themselves to fortify Deceleia; a town in sight of Athens, at the distance of about fifteen miles, nearly equally distant from the border of Bœotia, and critically situated for commanding the richest part of Attica. About the same time some small reïnforcements were sent to Sicily; six hundred infranchised Helots, under Eccritus, a Spartan; three hundred Bœotians; and Corinthians, Sicyonians and Arcadians all together seven hundred. The Lacedæmonian reïnforcement had no difficulty in its passage from the Laconian coast, tho a squadron of twenty triremes had been sent from Athens to intercept succours. To favor the passage of the others out of the Corinthian gulph, the Corinthians had prepared a squadron of twenty-five triremes, which took a station overagainst the Attic squadron at Naupactus, consisting of only twenty. Thucyd. l. 7. c. 19. Ol. 91. 3. B.C. 413. P. W. 19. About 18 March. Thucyd. l. 7. c. 17.

Summer was already begun, and the works at Deceleia were advancing, without any attempt at c. 20.

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opposition from Athens, when Demosthenes sailed for Sicily; having under his command sixty Athenian and five Chian triremes, twelve hundred heavy-armed Athenians, and a greater force of infantry collected from the subject-states. At Ægina he met a squadron of thirty Attic triremes, under Charicles, who, in the circumnavigation of Peloponnesus, was to coöperate with him in descents on the coast.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 21.

Meantime Gylippus was using his wonted activity and skill against the infirm and desponding Nicias. From the several Sicilian cities, who were inclined, or whom he had persuaded, to favor the Syracusan cause, he had collected a considerable force, with which, about the time that Demosthenes sailed from Athens, he entered Syracuse. The Athenians kept their landforce within their fortifications, which he thought himself not strong enough to attack, unless he could divide their strength. He proposed therefore another measure, which, to some, might appear still bolder: he would man the ships and attack the enemy's fleet. The reputation of the Athenians for naval superiority was so established by their various successes against the Peloponnesians in the beginning of the war, that the Syracusans were startled with the first ideä of ingaging them on water. But the influence of Hermocrates powerfully seconded the authority of Gylippus. Together they incouraged the Syracusans, by representing to them, that nothing so daunted an enterprizing people as daring and unexpected enterprize against them. 'The Athenians themselves,' they added, 'had not always been a seafaring people: the 'invading Persians had first forced them to become 'such; nor was there any reason why the Syracu-'sans, more prepared for it now than the Athenians

'then, should not quickly even excel them.' Recent good fortune had prepared the Syracusans for incouragement. Having already, under the conduct of Gylippus, succeeded so much beyond their hopes, they were disposed now to carry their hopes high. Accordingly they submitted themselves to his command: thirty-five triremes fit for service lay in the great port, and forty-five in the little port: all were manned by night, while Gylippus led the whole force of infantry toward the Athenian forts at Plemmyrium. SECT. VI. Thucyd. l. 7. c. 22.

At daybreak the stir in the Syracusan fleet became visible to the Athenians, who hastily manned sixty triremes; of which twenty-five were opposed to the thirty-five of the enemy already within the great port, and thirty-five to the forty-five which were advancing to enter it. On the land-side, the watch was so negligent, that the approach of an enemy was neither observed nor looked for, but the whole army made toward the shore to assist the fleet. Gylippus meanwhile, hastening his march, carried the largest of the three forts at the first assault; upon which the other two were immediately abandoned by their garrisons. By this time the fleets were ingaged. Within the great port, the Syracusans had at first the advantage; but their larger division breaking their order in advancing to the attack, were defeated; and then the conquering Athenians, hastening to the relief of their pressed ships, quickly compelled the other division of the Syracusan fleet to fly. Eleven Syracusan ships were sunk; the crews of three were made prisoners; those of the others, mostly perished. Three Athenian ships were destroyed. The Athenians erected a trophy for their naval victory: the Syra-

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cusans erected three trophies for the three forts taken.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 24.

More important tokens of success, however, than any trophies, remained to the Syracusans. The killed and prisoners in the forts, notwithstanding the numbers that fled, were many: the military chest, all the most valuable effects of the principal officers, large magazines of provisions, most of the stores of both army and fleet, masts for forty triremes, and three complete triremes laid up ashore, were taken. One of the forts was immediately demolished: garrisons were placed in the other two, and a squadron of triremes was stationed under their protection, to intercept supplies by sea to the Athenian camp; whither, thenceforward, no vessel could arrive, but by stealth, or by fighting its way. Notwithstanding therefore their naval victory, the consequences of the late complex action were very seriously disadvantageous to the Athenians; and while their general, never remarkable for activity, was oppressed with sickness, alarm and despondency began to pervade the armament.

Meanwhile the conduct of the Syracusans, under the able direction of Gylippus and Hermocrates,

c. 25. was all energy. Twelve triremes, under Agatharchus, a Syracusan, pushing to sea, one went to Peloponnesus with dispatches. Agatharchus, with the remaining eleven, made the Italian coast, to intercept a fleet of Athenian transports and store-ships, of which intelligence had been received, and most of them fell into his hands. He proceeded then to Caulonia on the Bruttian shore, where he burnt a quantity of navy timber which had been collected for the Athenians. In his return, meeting at Locri the Thespian auxiliaries destined for Syracuse, he took them aboard his squadron, and

made homeward. One of his triremes was taken by an Athenian squadron stationed at Megara; the rest arrived safe in the harbor of Syracuse. SECT. VI.

Notwithstanding their late naval defeat, Gylippus and Hermocrates resolved not to give up their purpose of disputing with the Athenians the command of the sea. Accordingly, to secure their station in the great port, whence they might best annoy the Athenian fleet, they formed before it a kind of rampart of piles. To prevent the completion of this, and to destroy what was already done, became an important object for the Athenians. The merchantships of the antients, capacious, deep, and firm in the water, like modern vessels for ocean navigation, were much fitter for some purposes of stationary fight than their galleys of war. A merchantship therefore, of the largest size[13], being fitted with turrets and parapets, was conducted close to the Syracusan rampart; a body of troops aboard annoyed the Syracusan workmen, and drew the attention of the troops appointed to protect them: meanwhile a party in boats fastened ropes about the piles, divers went down and sawed them at the bottom, and thus most of them were hauled up or broken. To fortify and defend their naval station on one side, and to destroy it on the other, was then for some time the principal object of the two adverse parties; in which, on the side of the Athenians, the skill, activity, and boldness of the people were more observable than the science or vigor of the general. The Syracusans continued to drive piles, and some in such a manner that, not appearing above water, they were very dangerous to the

[13] Ναῦς μυριοφόρος.

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Athenian boats; yet divers were found, for large rewards, to saw and fasten ropes even to these, so that the labor of the enemy was continually to be renewed; and as the present view of the Athenian general was defence, and to gain time for the arrival of the reïnforcement which he expected, his purpose was in a great degree accomplished.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 27.

While the Athenian affairs were thus waning in Sicily, Athens itself began to feel severely the consequence of having a Peloponnesian garrison established in the heart of its territory. In the former invasions a considerable part of the harvest had been consumed or carried off, and the vineyards, orchards, and olive plantations had been destroyed or greatly damaged. The injury however had not extended over the whole country. The Lacedæmonian army, for want of magazines, could not stay long; and when it was gone, no apprehension remained, during the rest of the year, for what had escaped its ravages: the herds and flocks returned to their pastures, and the owners of the lands might make any use of them that the interval till the next summer would admit. But the garrison of Deceleia kept the whole country, and the city itself, in constant alarm. Its very wants compelled it to exertion: for the troops, little supplied by their cities, were to subsist chiefly by plunder; and the assistance, which they received occasionally from home, was less in money or stores, than in reïnforcements to assist in rapine. The Spartan king Agis, who had led the expedition, and superintended the construction of the works, remained, after the departure of the rest of the army, as governor of the garrison, and assiduously and ably directed its measures. Not only all produce and revenue from the lands of

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Attica, with all the herds and flocks which they had maintained, were lost to the Athenians, but more than twenty thousand slaves deserted, the greater part mechanics and manufacturers. The Athenian cavalry were to little purpose employed in the endevor to check the ravage and desertion. Many of the horses, the art of shooing that animal being yet unknown, were lamed by unremitted service on rough and rocky ground, some were disabled by wounds, and the rest soon worn down.

Among the inconveniencies issuing from the establishment of the enemy in Deceleia, one is mentioned by Thucydides, which marks to a surprising degree the imperfection of antient navigation. The large and fruitful iland of Eubœa was at all times the principal resource to the Athenians for supplying the deficiencies of the scanty and arid soil of Attica. The produce was mostly brought to the port of Oropus, and thence conveyed by land, along a hilly road of about forty-four miles, to Athens. The nearest, the least hilly, and almost the only practicable road for heavy burdens, passed through Deceleia. The occupying of that post by the enemy therefore made it necessary to carry every thing by sea. With the advantages of modern navigation, this would be incomparably the preferable method; but the cotemporary author assures us that, in that age, the expence of the transport all the way by sea far exceeded that of the old practice[14]. For the

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 28.

Chandler's Journey in Greece, and Antonin. Itin.

[14] Those less acquainted with the advantages which the arts of modern navigation give to transport by sea, may form some estimate of them from the following circumstances. Much of the trade between London and Canterbury is carried on by water; and Whitstable, six miles from Canterbury, is the port of that city for its communication

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rest, we may readily conceive the force and the truth of the concise phrase which Thucydides has used to express the distress of a great city: Instead of a commonwealth, he says, Athens was reduced to the condition of a garrison. Without a territory, it depended upon supplies by sea for subsistence. The whole people were harassed with military duty, so incessant as to admit little other employment. By day they mounted guard by reliefs; but for the night, excepting the higher orders who composed the cavalry, none were at any time excused; those, not immediately wanted for the duty of the ramparts, being required to be in constant readiness with their arms[15]: and this continued through all seasons, during the remainder of the war.

Pressed thus by every inconvenience of a siege at home, such continued to be the zeal of the Athenian people for forein conquest, such the ardor with which they insisted on the prosecution of the siege of Syracuse, a city scarcely inferior to Athens in size or population, that unless it was seen, says the historian, nobody would believe it. Thus indeed, he continues, the expectation of all

with the Thames. The passage from London to Whitstable is perhaps eighty miles: but the general charge of carriage is the same for the six miles by land, between Whitstable and Canterbury, as for the eighty by water, between Whitstable and London. Allowance must however be made for the benefit of tides in our narrow seas, which, in the Mediterranean, is little known.

[15] Οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὅπλοις ποιούμενοι, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους. The exact value of the phrase ἐφ' ὅπλοις ποιούμενοι, apparently a military phrase of the day, is scarcely now to be ascertained. The explanations attempted by the commentators and translators are very unsatisfactory. For discovering the meaning of Thucydides upon this occasion, the curious reader may however consult another passage of Thucydides, nearly to the same purpose, in the 69th chapter of his eighth book; and some similar phrases occurring in Xenophon may assist him.

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Greece was strangely disappointed, and the opinion generally entertained, both of the power and of the perseverance of Athens, proved mistaken. The pressure of new evils served but to bring forward new resources. All revenue from Attica, public and private, ceasing, it was necessary to look abroad for augmentation of supplies. A total change was made in the collection of revenue from the subject-states; the antient tribute was abolished, and, instead of it, a tax was imposed, resembling the modern customs; being a twentieth of the value of all imports and exports[16]. Thus light, in comparison of what we have laid upon ourselves, was the heaviest tax, as far as we learn from history, at that time known in the world. Yet it caused much discontent among the dependent commonwealths; the arbitrary power by which it was imposed being indeed reasonably execrated, tho the burden itself was comparatively a nothing.

While the Athenians were suffering from the Peloponnesians established in Deceleia, a cruel stroke fell upon their neighbor enemies of Bœotia. The circumstances, little materially connected with

[16] Thucydides, not in the moment aware of the explanation necessary to make this interesting passage clearly intelligible to posterity, for whom professedly he wrote, has expressed himself in his usual close manner, with no other words than these: Τὴν εἰκοστὴν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀντὶ τῆς φόρου τοῖς ὑπακόοις ἐπέθησαν, πλείω νομίζοντες ἂν σφίσι χρήματα ἔτω προσέσεσθαι. In Duker's edition, the passage is cautiously pointed as it is here given, and neither scholiast nor annotators take any notice of it, farther than to inform of some different readings, which are evidently and grossly bad. The Latin translation runs thus: Per id tempus tributi loco vicesimam mercium, quæ mari vehebantur, populis imperio suo subjectis imperârunt, sperantes se majorem pecuniæ vim hac ratione confecturos. Smith, with whom it is by no means a common fault to be over bold, has ventured, upon this occasion, I think successfully; and tho his authority is not very great, I have been glad to find his support.

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the great events of the war, assist however considerably toward a portraiture of the times. Thirteen hundred middle-armed Thracians, hired for the Sicilian expedition, did not arrive till after the fleet under Demosthenes was gone. Means to forward them were not ready, and their pay was burdensome, being an Attic drachma, nearly tenpence sterling ahead, daily. It was resolved therefore to send them home, and discharge them; but, by the way, to make any use of them against the enemies of the commonwealth, for which opportunity might offer. The command was committed to Diïtrephes, an Athenian, who, passing through the Euripus, debarked his barbarians on the first hostile shore in his course, that of the Tanagræan territory. Having collected some booty, he hastened to deposit it in the neighboring friendly town of Chalcis in Eubœa, and in the evening again crossed the Euripus for farther plunder. During the night he directed his march toward Mycalessus, a large and populous Bœotian town, in perfect amity with Thebes, and at such a distance from the Attic border and from the sea, that the inhabitants, unaccustomed to fear surprizes, spared themselves the expence and fatigue both of maintaining complete fortifications, and keeping a regular watch. Diïtrephes, halting toward midnight under the shelter of a temple of Mercury, recommenced his march so as to reach Mycalessus, only two miles off, about daybreak. Finding a gate open and unguarded, his barbarians rushed instantly to pillage, and massacred as they went, sparing neither sex nor age: for the Thracians, like most barbarians, says Thucydides, who knew them from living among them, are commonly bloody-minded in success; insomuch that for sport they would kill even the beasts that fell in

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 29.

their way. There was a very large school, in which the boys were just assembled, when the Thracians broke in, and put every one to death. Destruction so unexpected and so complete, continues the cotemporary historian, scarcely ever fell upon any town. SECT. VI.

News of this scene of bloodshed being quickly carried to Thebes, a body of forces instantly marched: too late to give any relief to the Mycalessians, but in time to overtake the Thracians. Those barbarians, who in courage were inferior to none, and in discipline not despicable, frequently turning in their retreat, repulsed the Theban cavalry; and Skirphondas, one of the Bœotarcs, was killed. They were however, compelled to abandon all their booty; and when they arrived on the beach, in the confusion of imbarkation, they suffered greatly; those unpractised in swimming being indeed without resource; for the Athenian seamen, little solicitous about such allies, took care to keep themselves and their vessels out of the reach of the justly inraged enemy. About two hundred and fifty Thracians were killed: the rest were conducted by Diïtrephes to their own country. Thucyd. l. 7. c. 30.

Meanwhile Demosthenes, having joined Charicles, was meditating measures for revenging against Lacedæmon the evils suffered by Athens from the garrison of Deceleia. At Nauplia, he took aboard a body of Argian infantry. Turning back then upon the Epidaurian coast, he made a descent and collected some booty. Having thus ingaged the enemy's attention toward the northern parts of Peloponnesus, he reïmbarked his forces, and proceeding to the Laconian coast, debarked again overagainst Cythera, as the historian marks the place, where the temple of Apollo stands. The c. 26.

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first business was still plunder, as far as it could be conveniently extended. A neck of land was then occupied on which to erect a fort. It was proposed that this should be, on the eastern side of the country, like Pylus on the western, a place of refuge for runaway Helots, or any others who might be disposed to live by rapine on the Laconian lands. Matters being so far settled, Demosthenes proceeded on his voyage. Charicles remained till works were raised adequate to the protection of a garrison, and then, with the Argian auxiliaries, returned home.

Demosthenes, arriving at Corcyra, added his personal influence to the public authority with which he was vested, for collecting reïnforcements among the allies of Athens in Western Greece. Naupactus, Cephallenia, Zacynthus, Alyzia, Anactorium, contributed to strengthen the armament. At Anactorium he found Eurymedon collecting provisions for Sicily[17], and from him he learnt the unwelcome news that Plemmyrium was in the hands of the enemy. Nearly at the same time arrived Conon, now for the first time mentioned in history, who had the command at Naupactus, and came to request a reïnforcement to his squadron of eighteen triremes, to inable him to oppose the Corinthian squadron of twenty-five. The service was thought so important that ten of the swiftest triremes of the fleet were selected for it, to make his superiority decisive. Such a request, made by such an officer as Conon, and granted by such a commander as

[17] Τὰ χρήματα ἄγων τῇ στρατιᾷ. Thucyd. Ἦσαν τὰ πρὸς τροφὴν χρήσιμα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συντείνοντα αὐτοῖς. Schol. This is not the only occasion on which Thucydides uses the term χρήματα for necessaries in general. Smith has translated accordingly; but the Latin has *pecuniam*, which does not express the sense intended here.

Demosthenes, shows that the Athenians had already continued the war too long. Both those officers were certainly aware that the enemy had improved their naval practice, and that the superiority of the Athenians, experienced in the actions under Phormion, in the same seas, would be experienced no more. SECT. VI.

Demosthenes and Eurymedon, having prepared everything for the prosecution of their voyage, crossed the Ionian gulph to the Iapygian promontory. There they stopped to renew the antient alliance of Athens with Artas, a powerful chief of the Iapygian barbarians, through whom they obtained a small reïnforcement of dartmen of the Messapian tribe. From Metapontium, a Grecian town in the neighborhood, three hundred dartmen and two triremes joined them. Proceeding then to Thurium, they found a revolution had taken place there, favorable to their cause: the party friendly to Athens were in possession of the government, and those of their opponents, who had escaped with life, were in banishment. After making such arrangements as they judged most advantageous for the Athenian interest, and obtaining a reïnforcement of seven hundred heavy-armed and three hundred dartmen, they proceeded to the Rhegian port of Petra. Thucyd. l. 7. c. 33.

As soon as the Athenian fleet under Demosthenes had clearly quitted the Grecian coast, the Corinthian admiral, Polyanthes, resolved upon the bold measure of offering battle, tho with inferior numbers, to the Athenian squadron at Naupactus. He chose his station for the purpose judiciously. It was opposite to Naupactus, in a small bay, on each point of which a body of Peloponnesian infantry was incamped. Thus, in case of being overpowered, his retreat would be short, and protection ready. Nor was c. 34.

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this all: experience had led the Corinthians to improve the construction of their galleys, by strengthening the bows with an addition of timber and metal, which might inable them to resist the destructive shock of the enemy's beak. In the accidental absence, apparently, of Conon, Diphilus commanded the Athenian squadron; and, confident in superior numbers, accepted, perhaps imprudently, the offer of battle thus made by the enemy, on their own coast. After a sharp contest, three Corinthian ships were sunk, but seven Athenian were disabled, through the superior strength of the Corinthian bows. The Corinthians retired, but the Athenians were not in condition for effectual pursuit. The Corinthians therefore erected a trophy; thinking it much, says the historian, not to have been more decisively defeated. The Athenians, on the contrary, tho they remained masters of the wreck, the common criterion of victory, would erect no trophy; dejected, as by a defeat, not to have been, with superior numbers, more completely victorious. The enemy's fleet, however, retiring soon after into the harbor of Erineum, and the army also withdrawing, the Athenians then landed on the Peloponnesian shore, near the place of action, and erected their trophy.

SECTION VII.

Affairs in Sicily. Second Naval Action in the Harbor of Syracuse: Third Naval Action. Arrival of Reinforcement under Demosthenes and Eurymedon: Attack of Epipolæ: Retreat proposed by Demosthenes, opposed by Nicias: Secret Negotiation in Syracuse. Retreat resolved: Consequences of an Eclipse of the Moon: Fourth Naval Action: Distress of the Athenians: Fifth Naval Action.

SECT. VII.

DURING these transactions in Greece and on the Grecian shores, the natural consequences of recovered prosperity attended the negotiations, which Gylippus and Hermocrates were prosecuting in Sicily. Of the Grecian cities none remained attached to Athens: Agrigentum alone persevered in neutrality: even Camarina sent a considerable auxiliary force to the Syracusans, five hundred heavy-armed, three hundred dartmen, and three hundred bowmen: Gela at the same time furnished two hundred horse, four hundred dartmen, and two triremes. Nothing impeded the march of troops from Camarina and Gela to Syracuse: but, from the other friendly cities, either the Agrigentine territory must be traversed, or that of the hostile Sicels; sufferers, or likely to suffer, on all hands, but readiest in enmity to those with whose disposition to tyrannize they were most acquainted. The Agrigentines resisted all solicitation to allow the passage through their territory: it was thought unadvisable to exasperate so powerful a people by any attempt to force the way, and the road through the Sicel country was therefore taken. Nicias, informed of what was going forward, and roused by misfortune and danger, took, upon this occasion, the measures which policy would dictate. At his instance the Sicels, forming an ambuscade, attacked the auxiliaries on their march, and killed eight

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 32, 33.

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hundred: fifteen hundred nevertheless reached Syracuse.

Intelligence arriving of the formidable reïnforcement coming from Athens, under an experienced, enterprizing and successful general, Gylippus and Hermocrates determined to use the opportunity, yet remaining, for attempting a decisive blow against the decayed, dispirited, and already half-conquered armament of Nicias. They, like the Corinthians, had learned, from experience, the deficiencies of their triremes, and of their manner of naval action, and they adopted nearly the same ideä of improvement. The Athenians, confined within the great port, five or six English miles only in circuit[18], could profit little from the swiftness of their galleys, and their skill in evolution. They could not easily find room to attack with the transverse or oblique stroke, with which they had heretofore been so formidable[19]: under necessity of meeting prow to prow, the strengthened bows of the Syracusan vessels would have the advantage. They could not press out to sea, through the narrow mouth of the harbor, without exposing a part of their fleet to certain destruction; and the shore would afford them but scanty refuge, being mostly occupied by the enemy. The Syracusans, incouraged by these considerations, which were explained by their able commanders, prepared with new

[18] Strabo, according to our copies, makes it eighty stadia; perhaps an error of transcribers. Swinburne calls it rather more than five miles. Trav. in Sic. p. 343. v. 2. And another English and a Swiss traveller, both habituated to accurate observation, being separately asked, told me they reckoned it, by recollection, between four and six English miles.

[19] —— Λεπτὰ τὰ πρῴραθεν ἐχέσας (τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦς) διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀντιπρῴρους μᾶλλον αὐτὰς ἢ ἐκ περίπλου τοῖς ἐμβολαῖς χρῆσθαι. Thucyd. l. 7. c. 36.

confidence for action. All being ready, before the fleet moved, Gylippus drew out the landforces. Those in the city, and those in Olympieium, marched at the same time toward opposite sides of the Athenian camp, and ingaged the whole attention of the commanders with a false attack. This feint taking full effect, the fleet, consisting of eighty triremes, advanced toward the Athenian naval station. The Athenians, in alarm and confusion, hastily manned seventy-five triremes and met them. The contest was long: two Athenian triremes were sunk; but the fleets parted without any great advantage gained on either side.

SECT. VII.

After 16 July.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 37.

Next day the Syracusans did not move. But no incouragement arose hence to the Athenians. They felt that they had lost the superiority by sea, as well as by land; and they concluded that the enemy would not long rest satisfied with the progress already made. Nicias therefore directed his principal attention to the security of his fleet. He had already formed a stockade in the water, for the defence of his naval station. In front of this, at convenient distances, he now moored large merchantships, of the kind called holcades, much loftier as well as deeper than the galleys of war. In these were placed machines bearing instruments of vast weight, called dolphins; so suspended, over the sea, that they might be dropped on any vessel passing near, and with such violence as to sink it. Behind these floating fortresses, any of his ships, pressed in action, might find shelter, with means to return with advantage against an enemy, bold enough to pursue them so far.

c. 38.

The Syracusans did not disappoint the expectation of the Athenian general. The very next morning their land and sea-forces moved at once

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 39, 40, 41.

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toward his camp and naval station; but the serious attack, as before, was on the fleet. As before, also, much of the day was consumed in fruitless contest. At length Ariston, a Corinthian, esteemed the best seaman[20] in the Syracusan fleet, conferring with his collegues in command, advised a measure, judicious in their circumstances, tho, in the authentic description of Thucydides, it marks great deficiency, both in the ships of war of the Greeks, and in their military and naval economy. We have heretofore observed a Corinthian fleet, when going to seek an enemy, taking three days provision aboard. But it appears that when immediate action was expected, as on the present occasion, the general practice was to leave everything but their arms in their naval camp; not incumbering themselves ashipboard with a single meal. Toward midday, in pursuance of the advice of Ariston, the Syracusans retreated, but in perfect order, toward their naval station. The Athenians, fatigued with unavailing contest, did not pursue. The Syracusans, on reaching the shore, found a market of eatables provided. The magistrates, in consequence of notice from the naval commanders, had compelled all persons in the city to send whatever provisions they had ready, and the crews debarking, took hasty refreshment.

Ch. 13. s. 3. of this Hist.

Meanwhile the Athenians, retreating to their naval camp, had dispersed, expecting no interruption of leisure for their meal; when suddenly they perceived the Syracusan fleet approaching again in order of battle. With much tumult, and mostly without refreshment, they hastened aboard, and the action was renewed. But it was no longer equally maintained, as before. The strengthened bows of

[20] Ἄριστος ὢν ναυσὶν γνώμης.

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the Syracusan galleys, through management improved by experience, damaged several of the Athenian: the numerous dartmen on the Syracusan decks plied their weapons efficaciously; and practice in that manner of naval ingagement, which the confinement of the port required, had given the Syracusan leaders to imagine a new mode of annoying an enemy, who, like the Athenians, depended chiefly on the skill of their rowers and the shock of the beak. Dartmen in boats, venturing under the quarters, and even under the lateral galleries of the Athenian galleys, gave more annoyance to their seamen than even the dartmen on the decks[21]. Seven Athenian ships being sunk, several others much damaged, and the crews of all weakened with fast-

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 40.

[21] Πολὺ δ' ἔτι μείζω οἱ ἐν τοῖς λεπτοῖς πλοίοις περιπλέοντες τῶν Συρακοσίων, καὶ ἐς τε τὰς παρὸρς ὑποστίλοντες τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν, καὶ ἐς τὰ πλάγια παραπλέοντες, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς ναύτας ακοντίζοντες. This is a passage for which little assistance is to be expected from translators and commentators. An attentive examination of an antique piece of sculpture in the Vatican museum at Rome, mentioned in a former note, assisting the idea furnished by general Melvill, first gave me to imagine I understood it. I doubt however if the version given in the text may carry with it sufficiently its own explanation. I suppose the lateral galleries of the galleys to have been open at bottom, or at most to have had only gratings; their purpose having been, as I imagine, only to give projection and purchase to the upper oars. A parapet, raised on them, protected the rowers in a great degree against missile weapons from the decks of the enemy's galleys, but the open or grated bottom gave passage for weapons from boats underneath.

I am sorry to have to say that Winkelman's description of the piece of sculpture in question, and the ingraving he has given of it, are both very erroneous. Equally the antiquarian and the artist have been evidently ignorant of what a ship or a boat should be or could be. Yet Winkelman flattered himself with the imagination that he had discovered, in this monument, or perhaps in the incorrect drawing of it, which he contemplated in his closet, a solution of that difficulty, which the antients, in all their accounts, have left for us, how their ships of war were rowed. A man who never himself pulled an oar, will in such an attempt hardly avoid absurdity.

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ing, fatigue, and wounds, the whole fleet sought the shelter of their floating fortresses. So far the Syracusans pursued, and three of their ships, elate with success, pushed within them; but two were sunk, and the other was taken with her whole crew. The rest retired, satisfied with the success of the day, and confirmed in opinion that they were now superior, by sea as well as by land, to that enemy from whom they had so lately apprehended subjugation. It was therefore unanimously resolved, at the earliest opportunity, to renew the attack on both elements.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 42. End of July.

In the short and critical interval, between the resolution taken and the proposed execution, Demosthenes and Eurymedon arrived, with a fleet of seventy-three triremes, five thousand regular heavy-armed infantry, and a greater number of bowmen, dartmen, and slingers; so that, including the attending slaves, the landforce alone would approach twenty thousand men. Alarm and astonishment now returned with double force upon the Syracusans. They were assured that Attica itself was in the possession of an enemy; and it appeared an unaccountable paradox, that, so pressed at home, the Athenians should send out such a force to make forein conquest; a force in all points equal to that which Nicias had first led to Sicily. The power of Athens, says the historian, thus appeared stupendous, its resources beyond calculation, and their own danger consequently endless.

Demosthenes, having landed his forces, viewed his ground, and received the information that Nicias and his officers could give, formed his opinion of the business before him, and decided on the measures proper to be taken, with that cool and just judgement, which might be expected from an offi-

cer who, to considerable talents, joined his extensive experience. Powerful as the junction with Nicias made the armament under their command, and much as it struck sudden terror into the enemy, Demosthenes did not flatter himself with certain success. In his younger days he had been enterprizing, even to rashness. Now, in mature age, undazzled by the near view of glorious conquest, unawed by the apprehension of popular rage, neither the hope of profit, nor the prospect of fame, nor the fear of a tyrannical multitude, could move him from what he thought the welfare of his country required. The safety of the Sicilian army was not to be staked against any hope of conquest: the gain would be a precarious advantage to the commonwealth, the loss almost certain ruin. His first resolution therefore was to avoid the error of Nicias, losing opportunity by delay: his next, to fix upon some one undertaking, in which success might be in some degree decisive, and failure not fatal: and finally he determined, that should such a first attempt be defeated, it would be improper to risk farther so large a portion of the strength of the commonwealth, and, whatever indignation he might incur from the Athenian people, he would lead the armament home. SECT. VII.

Upon this occasion Thucydides sufficiently declares his opinion, that, with able and spirited conduct in the outset, the conquest of Syracuse might have been effected by the Athenian arms. Had Nicias, he says, instead of wasting almost a year in little enterprize, gone at once against that city, he might have completed his contravallation. The Syracusans, at first, confident in their own numbers, did not even think of desiring assistance from Peloponnesus; and they might have been put beyond means of relief, before any effectual assistance could

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arrive. Circumstances were now very different; but to accomplish the purpose of the expedition seemed not yet beyond hope. The Athenian force was clearly superior in the field. The principal obstacles to the progress of the siege were the enemy's counterwork intersecting the line of the contravallation, and their possession of Epipolæ. Demosthenes observed that the counterwork was only a single wall, without defence behind; so that possession of Epipolæ would give him possession of the counterwork. He therefore judged that the assault of Epipolæ would be the best criterion; its success or its failure would best determine, whether the siege of Syracuse should be vigorously prosecuted, or abandoned without delay.

The account of Thucydides may give to suppose, tho it does not directly express, that the ideäs of Demosthenes did not exactly meet those of Nicias. The consideration that the reïnforcement had restored superiority in the field, seems to have led to the first measure taken, which was to ravage the country beyond the Anapus. In this, apparently, a double object was proposed. Possibly the enemy might be provoked to risk a battle; of all things, perhaps, for the Athenians, the most desirable. Should they avoid it, the Athenian army, beside being gratified with booty, would derive incouragement from the experienced acknowlegement of their superiority. Nothing opposed them: the cavalry and light troops from Olympieium only attempted some desultory annoyance, with little effect. The next attempt, which was against the counterwork, was unfortunate. The machines were burned by the enemy, and every attack repelled. Demosthenes then insisted that his proposed assault of Epipolæ should be no

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 43.

longer delayed; and Nicias and the other principal officers acceded to the measure. SECT. VII.

Apparently Nicias was at this time too infirm to take any active part in a business which might require great exertion. Under the command therefore of Demosthenes, Eurymedon and Menander, the whole army, except a small guard for the works, was ordered for the duty: provisions for five days were carried, and the engineers and artificers attended, to form defences in the instant of getting possession of the ground. To attack, however, otherwise than by surprize, so great a force, in a post so strong by nature and by art, was deemed unadvisable. Night was therefore chosen for the purpose: the army moved, as Thucydides describes the hour, about the first sleep. Ascending by the way of Euryelus, they passed the first Syracusan post unperceived. Surprizing then a small outwork, they put part of the guard to the sword: but the greater part, escaping, alarmed the camps in Epipolæ. These were three: the Sicilian allies formed one; the allies from Greece another; and a third was composed of Syracusans: Gylippus himself commanded. All was quickly in motion to oppose the assailants: but the Athenian van, led by Demosthenes, repulsed the first troops they met, and continued mounting the hill, while those who followed demolished the fort taken. Attacks were renewed by Gylippus, but still unsuccessfully: the Athenians pushed forward, but, in confidence now of success, hastening to complete the acquisition of the enemy's works, they grew more careless of their order. In this state the Bœotians, who were among the allies of Syracuse, met, and checked them. Among a large body of men, confined within narrow space, on

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rough ground, and by night, confusion once arising, spred rapidly. To communicate commands was difficult; and, tho the moon shone bright, yet when established arrangements were once disturbed, it was no longer easy to distinguish friends from foes. The repulsed Athenians, meeting those yet advancing, were received with pointed spears. This occasioned frequent and clamorous passing of the word; which thus became known to the enemy, and of course useless or even prejudicial to themselves. But beyond all things the pæanism, the song or shout of battle, which the Greeks always used in the moment previous to attack, increased the confusion: for that of the allies of Athens of Doric race, Argians, Corcyræans, and others, being the same with the Syracusan, alarmed the Athenians wherever they heard it; and as disorder extended, the troops of the Athenian army, in several parts, fought oneanother. At length all took to flight. The only road for retreat was narrow; the fugitives were numerous; and hastening to avoid the pursuers swords, many perished by falling down precipices. Of the more fortunate, who gained the plain, those who had served under Nicias, acquainted with the country, easily reached their camp or lines; but some of the newly arrived, missing their way, were next day cut off by the Syracusan horse.

The morrow was a day of mourning to the Athenians, as of triumph to the Syracusans. The dead were restored to the defeated, through the usual ceremonies. Thucydides does not specify the number[22]; he says it was considerable, but

[22] Plutarch states it at the round sum of two thousand. Diodorus, always struggling to give celebrity to the deeds of

not so great as the number of shields taken would have given to suppose; because those who fled over the precipices disincumbered themselves of their armor; and, tho many perished, some escaped. The Syracusans erected two trophies; one at the beginning of the ascent of Epipolæ; the other, on the spot where the Bœotians made the first effectual resistance.

Every circumstance appeared now to require that the Athenian generals should quickly enter upon some new plan. The armament was sickly, partly from the season, partly from the marshy and unwholesome ground on which it was incamped; and the hope of soon reducing Syracuse, or indeed of at all reducing it, seemed frustrated. Demosthenes therefore warmly urged his opinion, before given, that due experiment having been made and having failed, all purpose of conquest in Sicily should be at once abandoned, and the armament conducted home. Not the necessities of their own situation, he said, more than the wants and distresses of the commonwealth, required the measure; insomuch that it would be inexcusable farther to risk so great a portion of the public strength, and continue such waste of the public revenue, on what was comparatively an unimportant object. Thucydides very seldom declares, in direct terms, an opinion by which the character of his cotemporary might be affected. It is however easy to perceive that he approved, upon the whole, both the advice and the conduct of Demosthenes, as, for his country's welfare ju- Thucyd. l. 7. c. 47.

his fellow-countrymen, calls it two thousand five hundred. Later writers however are not likely to have had information which Thucydides could not obtain.

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dicious, for himself disinterested and manly. It is not equally easy to discover his opinion of the conduct of Nicias: perhaps he was unable to determine his own judgement of it. Nicias positively refused to lead the armament home. 'The 'temper of the Athenian people,' he said, 'is well 'known to me: warm in expectation, and jealous 'of their authority, they will highly resent a mea- 'sure so disappointing to their hopes, unauthor- 'ized by their decree. Our conduct, then, let it be 'recollected, must be submitted to the judgement, 'and our fate must be decided by the vote, not of 'those who have seen and who know what we 'know, but of those who will be persuaded of any- 'thing by any eloquent accuser. Even of those 'now under our command, of those now loudest 'in complaint of the evils they are suffering, some, 'nay many, will unsay their assertions, blame the 'abandoning of the expedition, impute corruption 'to their generals, and perhaps become our accu- 'sers, or at least join in the vote for our condem- 'nation. I therefore, if I am brought to the alter- 'native, will not risk a shameful death from the 'injustice of my fellowcitizens, to avoid an honora- 'ble death from the valor of the enemy. But I 'think we are not yet so straitened. Ill as the face 'of our affairs appears, I well know the condition 'of the Syracusans is worse. In some points, 'they are under great difficulties; in others, re- 'duced to absolute inability. They are ruined by 'their expences. Two thousand talents, already 'consumed upon their auxiliary forces and their 'fleet, have not sufficed: they have besides incur- 'red a large debt. Their fleet therefore they can- 'not long maintain; and on the least failure of 'payment, their auxiliaries will abandon them.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 48.

'We are under no equal difficulty; and on these 'considerations I hold it utterly improper to give 'up the enterprize.' SECT. VII.

Such were the sentiments of Nicias, delivered in the council of war. But, beside his extreme horror of the prospect of living under the Athenian democracy, with credit so impaired as it must have been by relinquishing the enterprize, he had reasons for his perseverance which he did not communicate. There were among the Syracusans some who, as their fellowcitizens of the opposite party were to them the most odious and most dreadful of enemies, wished well to the Athenian arms. These communicated secretly with Nicias; they informed him accurately of the state of things in the city; they urged him to persevere in the siege; and they incouraged him to hope, that the very distress of the enemy and the zeal of his secret friends, with little exertion on his part, would give him still to return home conqueror of Syracuse. Thucyd. l. 7. c. 48, & 49.

Demosthenes, uninformed of this negotiation, was unable to comprehend the conduct of Nicias; and he strenuously insisted that, if they must wait for a a decree of the people to authorize their return home, yet the army ought immediately to move from ground so unhealthy, and still more the fleet from that confined situation, in which it could not come to action but under the grossest disadvantage. Eurymedon concurred with him; but Nicias still opposing, deference to his rank, together with the supposition, and perhaps intimation, that he might have intelligence unknown to them, occasioned a suspension of measures, and the armament remained in its station. c. 49.

Unexpected success had now prepared the Syracusans for any exertion. But Gylippus and Her-

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mocrates would not omit to profit from that credit which grows with prosperity. Information arrived that factions were violent in Agrigentum; and it was hoped that assistance, critically given, might put the party friendly to Syracuse in possession of the government. Accordingly Sicanus was sent thither, with fifteen triremes; but, on his arrival, he found matters accommodated between the contending parties, and the moment of opportunity lost. Gylippus himself was in the mean time more successful in a journey, which he undertook into the Sicel country. Besides collecting a considerable force among the barbarians, he was joined by a body of Peloponnesians, who, to avoid the Athenian fleet, had made the coast of Africa, and thence crossed to Selinus; and he led the whole, without opposition, into Syracuse.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 46.

c. 50.

Meanwhile the Athenian armament, dispirited by disappointment, was also weakening daily by sickness. Intelligence, that Gylippus had introduced a powerful reïnforcement within the Syracusan lines, excited new apprehension, and Demosthenes and Eurymedon regretted their concession to their elder collegue. Nicias at length was persuaded, yet scarcely persuaded, to give the sanction of his consent to the retreat of the armament. He deprecated any public decision of such a measure by that open manner of voting, which, in pursuance of the democratical principle, was the general practice of the Athenian military[23]; and orders were given, with cautious privacy, for the fleet and army

[23] Μὴ φανερῶς γε ἀξιῶν ψηφίζεσθαι. We want explanation of this phrase, which the commentators and translators do not give. Thucydides has written for those who knew the common forms of proceeding on such occasions in his age, without thinking of the explanation that posterity might need.

to prepare for quitting their station. All was accordingly ready, when the full moon was suddenly darkened. None had then science to foresee the regular return of that phenomenon; few could be persuaded that the cause was in the order of nature. It struck the armament with terror, as a portent boding ill to their purpose: application was made to the generals, deprecating the intended march; the augurs and soothsayers declared that, to bring the heavenly powers again to a friendly aspect, required a delay of thrice nine days; and Nicias, more superstitious than the rest, affirmed that, till that period was completed, he would not even consult about removal. SECT. VII. 27 Aug.

There seems to have been nothing in this omen to persuade the Athenians, more than the Syracusans, that the illboding regarded them. On the contrary, Plutarch gravely imputes to the augurs ignorance in their profession; they ought, he says, to have known that an eclipse portended rather the favor of the gods to those whose purpose was retreat. Plutarch apparently must have had a low opinion of the power or of the goodness of the gods, which did not make a signal of favor intelligible, or did not dispose the favored to a just confidence in such a signal. But omens of undecided import, such is the nature of superstitious fear, commonly were taken as unfavorable by those in adverse circumstances. On the other hand, the knowlege that the Athenians held themselves to be the objects of the divine displeasure portended, sufficed for the Syracusans to derive incouragement from the portent. They were confident of superiority by land; they considered the intention of secret retreat as proof of fear to stand a battle. They resolved therefore not to allow the enemy to establish Plut. vit. Nic. Thucyd. l. 7. c. 51.

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themselves anywhere in Sicily, by which the war might be drawn into length, but to attack them by sea and land in their present situation, and by their total destruction to deter future invasion.

Such being the purpose, the able leaders directed their attention, for some days, to exercise their people in whatever they judged most necessary to success in naval action. Giving then the seamen a day of rest, they led out the infantry, and they gained some small advantage over a body of Athenians, horse and foot, who advanced against them[24]. On the next day they proposed their great attack. Accordingly seventy-six triremes moved from the naval station, and the whole landforce advanced toward the Athenian lines. The Athenians, superior by ten triremes, met their fleet. Eurymedon, who commanded the right, to use that advantage which superiority of numbers gave, stretched away with a view to surround the left of the enemy. The center spreding, to obviate the danger of too great an interval between the divisions, weakened itself by making the intervals too great between ship and ship. In this state it was attacked by the enemy in close order, and presently defeated. The Syracusans then directing their principal effort against the division of Eurymedon, now cut off from the rest of the fleet, took, destroyed, or drove aground every ship, and Eurymedon himself was killed. The left wing, thus wholly without support, fled, pursued,

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 52.

[24] Dodwell has been, I think, not successful in the calculation of days from the eclipse forward, and the endevor to assign to each its circumstances. He has given either not due attention, or not due credit, to the narrative of Thucydides, which, without such minute accuracy, is consistent and clear. With regard to the delay required by the augurs, whether there has or has not been the corruption of the text of Thucydides supposed by Dodwell, is little important, but Plutarch's account agrees with the common reading.

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to the shore. Such is the brief account which Thucydides gives of this important action; as if feeling too much to relate in detail a defeat, for its consequences, so deplorable, and the first, of any importance, which his country ever suffered at sea from an inferior force. With his usual tenderness for characters, he names neither Nicias nor Demosthenes; and expresses no opinion, nor imputes any blame, otherwise than by omission.

Gylippus, while no part of the landforces were yet ingaged, observed from the shore the distress of the Athenian fleet, and many of the ships forced aground beyond the protection of their stockade and their camp. Immediately he detached a body of infantry to intercept any of the crews that might fly, and to overpower those who might attempt to defend their stranded vessels against the victorious Syracusans. The Tuscan allies were the nearest troops of the Athenian line. The Syracusan detachment, elate with the success of their fleet, approached in disorderly haste. The Tuscans, by a vigorous assault, conducted with regularity, put them to flight. Gylippus sent reïnforcement; but assistance coming also from the Athenian camp, the Athenians finally prevailed, with some slaughter of the enemy's heavy-armed, and they saved most of the stranded ships. The Syracusans however took eighteen, and of these the whole crews perished. An attempt was made to destroy the Athenian fleet, within its stockade, by a fireship. The wind favored the design, but the practised skill of the Athenian seamen rendered it ineffectual. The Syracusan fleet then retired, and each party erected its trophy: the Syracusans for their naval victory, the Athenians for their success by land.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 53.

c. 54.

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But the event of the naval action, so contrary to all hope founded on former experience, was a disaster so momentous, and so little balanced by the better fortune of the landforces, that the deepest dejection pervaded the Athenian armament. On the other hand, the Syracusans began to consider themselves no longer as an oppressed people, struggling in the almost hopeless defence of everything dear to them; they looked forward to success that might intitle them vanquishers of Athens, and vindicators of the liberties of Greece. Accordingly they applied themselves immediately to blockade the port; desirous now to prevent the departure of that force, from which they had expected the worst evils of subjugation; and proposing no less than to destroy, or reduce to the dreadful condition of prisoners at discretion, the whole of that formidable fleet and army.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 56. & 59.

c. 60.

Meanwhile not dejection only, from a sense of disgrace, and apprehension of the swords of their enemies, but the most urgent of wants pressed the Athenians. In consequence of the resolution taken to raise the siege (no suspicion being entertained that the enemy could prevent their departure by sea) they had forbidden farther supplies of provisions from Catana. Naval superiority lost, the means of intercourse with Catana were gone; and thus the desire to depart was inforced, as the means were rendered precarious. A council of war was called to consider of these untoward circumstances; and the taxiarcs, officers nearly of the rank of colonels in our service, were summoned to assist the generals with their advice. The result of the deliberation was a resolution to withdraw the whole armament by sea. This being determined, the subordinate resolutions followed, to use all possible

means for strengthening the fleet: and, with this view, to abandon immediately their extensive line of contravallation, and reduce their works to a single fort near the naval station, large enough only to contain the baggage and sick, with a competent garrison. But naval action now, far different from that in open sea, where they had been long accustomed to a decisive superiority, must be unavoidably similar to that in which they had already yielded to inferior numbers. Thus late therefore, taught by severe experience, they proposed to prepare accordingly. Upon this subject the advice of the masters[25] of the triremes was required. The lightness of the vessel, a quality necessary to swift-rowing, and, in open sea, of inestimable advantage, within the harbor of Syracuse would little avail. On the contrary, to be able to maintain a stationary fight, as between infantry ashore, was of principal importance. It was therefore resolved that every man capable of bearing arms, beyond the necessary garrison of the fort, should be taken aboard; that numerous bowmen, with the ablest dartmen, particularly the Acarnanian, should be stationed on the decks; and that, on the prows, grappling-irons should be fixed, which might at once obviate the shock of the enemy's stronger bows, and, preventing their retreat, give opportunity for their own numerous heavy-armed to act. Pursuant to these resolutions, about a hundred and ten triremes were equipped and manned.

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Thucyd. l. 7. c. 62.

c. 65.

The bustle of preparation in the Athenian naval camp was observed by the Syracusans, and intelligence reached them of the grappling-irons with which the Athenian prows were armed. Gylippus and Hermocrates, tho they could not equip eighty

[25] Κυβερνῆται.

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triremes, nevertheless determined to pursue the contest, so far successful, for naval superiority. Against the new mode of action proposed by the Athenians, they thought it necessary to prepare; but for this it was held sufficient to cover the forecastles of their triremes with bull-hides, on which the grappling-irons would not readily take any firm hold.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 69.

While the animation of the Syracusans and their confederates seconded the spirit of their leaders, among the Athenians, notwithstanding the great superiority of their naval force, a general dejection prevailed. The discouragement, arising from the late naval defeats, was proportioned to the former confidence in the opinion, supported by long experience, of their decided superiority. But as the spirits of those under his command sunk, the animation, and indeed the whole character of Nicias seemed to rise. His behavior on the occasion was truly great. Little ambitious, under favoring fortune rather deficient in exertion, and sometimes culpably remiss in his command, his activity and animation increased as evils pressed and dangers threatened. None was now so warm in exhortation, that might restore the drooping courage of the soldiers and seamen. The state of his health did not permit him to take the command ashipboard: but he was sedulous in attending the necessary preparation, and directing every arrangement. When all was ready for the proposed attempt, thinking, says the historian, he had not yet said so much for the incouragement of his officers and people as the singular importance of the occasion demanded, he went around the whole armament; and speaking to each trierarc separately, after mentioning their superiority in numbers,

and the measures taken for resisting the enemy's novel mode of attack, he exhorted every one, by his own glory, and by that inherited from his ancestors, to exert himself in the battle to insue. Leading then the whole to the shore, he there committed them to Demosthenes, Menander, and Euthydemus, under whose orders they imbarked, and moved immediately to the harbor's mouth to force the egress. SECT. VII.

The enemy, who carefully watched their motions, quickly made toward them, under the Corinthian Pythen, and Sicanus and Agatharchus, Syracusans; the Corinthian commanding the center, the Syracusans the wings. With the first shock the Athenians made themselves masters of the vessels that blockaded the mouth of the port, and were hastening to unmoor them and clear the passage, when the Syracusans approached, and a most obstinate battle insued. Thucyd. l. 7. c. 70.

Meanwhile the Athenian army stood on the shore, observing with the most anxious attention what passed, within such a distance that they could see and hear almost everything. When therefore after a long contest, with various fortune at times in various parts, the advantage of the Syracusans became decisive, and the whole Athenian fleet fled pursued, then grief, indignation and dismay (says the eloquent historian, at a loss for words equal to the description) rose to the utmost pitch that any circumstances could produce in the human mind, since none could be more hopeless.

Entering little into detail, and not at all accounting for the event of this disasterous battle, Thucydides proceeds to describe the consequences. The dejection that pervaded the defeated armament was so extreme, and the danger impending so urgent, c. 73.

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that the sacred dues of the dead, objects commonly of such anxious attention, were totally neglected; no herald was sent to request the restitution of the bodies, no care was taken about their burial, but every thought was absorbed in the evils that pressed, and the perils that threatened, the living. Amid the general despair, however, Demosthenes did not lose his usual energy of mind. Going to Nicias, he proposed what might still have saved the greater part of the forces. Sixty triremes remained to the Athenians: those of the enemy, tho victorious, were reduced to fifty. He thought it therefore very possible still to force the passage out to sea, if, imbarking that very night, they made the attempt at daybreak. Nicias approved, but the crews absolutely refused. 'To retreat,' they peevishly remonstrated, 'was all the generals wanted; they 'would go anywhere by land, and fight their way, 'if necessary; but by sea the experience of the 'past sufficiently proved that they could expect 'nothing but destruction.' The execution of the salutary measure was thus prevented by excess of discouragement.

SECTION VIII.

Retreat of the Athenians from Syracuse.

Thucyd. ut ant.

Gylippus and the Syracusan chiefs, on considering the advantages which their last success gave them, became more than ever desirous to prevent the departure of the enemy: the Syracusans, by the complete destruction of the invading armament, would deter future invasion; and Gylippus hoped, in

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effect, to conquer Athens itself in Sicily. The opinion was general in Syracuse, and it justified the proposal of Demosthenes, that the Athenians would now think only of retreat by land, and it was supposed they would move that very night. But the Syracusan people, wearied with the labor of the day, and exhilarated with its success, were more eager to injoy the leisure, which they had so well earned, than solicitous about any future events. It happened too that the morrow was the festival of Hercules. Among such an assemblage of people of Dorian race, and on such an occasion, the desire of duly celebrating the day of a hero-god, with whom they esteemed themselves so connected, became irresistible; and nothing could persuade them to quit the religious revel for nocturnal military enterprize. Hermocrates, who had been at first most urgent for marching immediately to intercept the Athenians, knew his fellowcitizens and mankind too well to attempt, in such circumstances, to force inclination: but his fruitful genius provided still a resource for the attainment of his purpose. In the evening, some persons under his direction went on horseback to the Athenian camp; and approaching enough to be heard, when they could be little distinctly seen, pretended they were of the party which had been accustomed to communicate with Nicias. Finding credit so far, they charged those whom they had ingaged in conversation, to go and tell the general, 'that the passes were already occupied 'by the Syracusans, and that he would therefore do 'well not to move that night, but wait and concert 'his measures.' The fatal bait was taken, and the next day was spent by the Athenians in various preparation for the march. Thucyd. l. 7. c. 74.

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But Gylippus and Hermocrates, having yielded in the moment to the wishes of their people, found means, before the morrow ended, to ingage them in their own views. Their victorious fleet went to the Athenian naval station, and no opposition being attempted, they carried off, or burnt on the spot, every ship there. The army at the same time marched out, under the conduct of Gylippus, and occupied all the principal passes around the Athenian camp, and in that line of country which the Athenians would probably propose to traverse.

On the next day[26], every thing being prepared, as far as circumstances would permit, orders were issued by the Athenian generals for marching. The pen of Thucydides and the language of Athens are wanting, to describe adequately the scene presenting itself upon that occasion; when, in the bitterness of antient warfare, every horror offered itself to expectation, that the human body can suffer or the human mind conceive. No light distress arose from the reflection, that, instead of fulfilling the lofty hopes of their enterprize, the whole of so powerful a fleet was destroyed; that, through their failure, ruin threatened their country; and that, instead of returning, as they had so lately with reason expected, conquerors of Sicily, an ignominious flight was their only, and that almost a hopeless resource, for avoiding slavery or death. But, in the circumstances of that flight, many dreadful considerations, many lamentable objects, presented themselves, striking home to the feelings of every individual. The dead lay yet unburied; and the

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 75.

[26] The third from the naval action, according to the phrase of Thucydides, and the usual manner of reckoning of the Greeks; who counted the day itself of an action first, the next day as second, and so forth.

recollection, or, in many instances, the sight, of a relation or a friend so neglected, struck not only with grief but with horror. Yet the voices and the actions of the many living, whom wounds or sickness disabled for the march, their complaints, their expostulations, their prayers, their embraces, and the painful, yet fruitless endevors of some to follow their friends, were still more distressing than the compunction which arose from the neglect, impious as it was deemed, but so far excusable as it was unavoidable, of the still and silent dead. Mutual reproach then, and self-reproach, for that share which any had had in superinducing or inhancing the public calamity, whether by promoting the enterprize, or by obstructing the retreat, occasionally aggravated the bitterness of woe. Such, in short, says the historian, was the accumulated weight of present misery, that it threw the whole multitude into tears; and, absorbing the apprehension of farther danger, took away almost the desire, and even the power to move.

At length the march commencing, resembled that of a whole city flying from a besieging army. This is the remark of the cotemporary historian, drawing a comparison from among those circumstances which distinguish antient from modern times. For the numbers, he continues, including attendants, were not less than forty thousand. Attendants however were of little importance: mostly slaves, they deserted openly; and in the instant of the army's moving, the greater part disappeared. Thus even the cavalry and the heavy-armed were reduced to carry their own provisions and necessaries; some being without attendants, some mistrusting those who remained to them: and the small portion of provisions they possessed demand-

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ed every care, since it was far from being equal to their probable wants.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 76.

Amid the extreme dejection and anguish, not without reason pervading the armament, Nicias wonderfully supported the dignity of his character and situation. Individually the distress of the existing circumstances appeared not to affect him; his only anxiety seemed to be to relieve that of others, and to diffuse incouragement among all. The historian's authority for the remarkable words he attributes to him on the occasion, tho not stated, certainly might be good: but whether we consider them as conveying the sentiments of Nicias or of Thucydides, they are highly interesting, as they mark the opinion entertained of the Divine Providence, by a man of exalted rank, of extensive information and experience, just and religiously disposed, but never taught to consider this life as a state of probation, and to expect, in futurity, the reward of good or the punishment of evil deeds. From

c. 77.

the head of the line, according to Thucydides, exerting his voice to the utmost, that he might be heard as extensively as possible, Nicias, with an unruffled countenance, desired the troops to advert to his own case: 'I,' he said, 'am in body (you 'may see indeed the state to which sickness has 'reduced me) very far from being the strongest 'among you. In the blessings of high fortune I was 'once inferior to none: but now I must bear every 'present evil, I have to apprehend every threatened 'danger, in common with the lowest under my 'command. Such is my lot; who have always 'been regular and zealous in every duty to the 'gods; and not only, as far as depended simply on 'myself, scrupulously just, but liberally charitable 'among men. Hence I have hope and confidence

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'that our fortune will change for the better. The 'affliction we now suffer is surely beyond our de- 'sert; the enemy have already been sufficiently 'fortunate; and if our enterprize against this coun- 'try has offended any of the gods, it cannot be but 'our present evils are adequate punishment. For 'we are not the first who have drawn our swords 'in the attempt, unjustifiable be it confessed, to 'subjugate and reduce to slavery our fellow-crea- 'tures, and seize to ourselves their possessions. 'In doing thus, doing only what is ordinary among 'men, others have suffered for it only what men 'may bear. We therefore have surely reason to 'hope, that the gods will at length moderate their 'apparent excess of vengeance against us; objects, 'as we are already become, of pity rather than of 'indignation.

'Confiding thus far then in the divine mercy, let 'us look to what, meer human things considered, 'our circumstances are, and surely we ought not to 'despond. Such a force as we possess, with so 'large a proportion of regular troops, wherever we 'establish our abode, we are not only a formida- 'ble army, we are a commonwealth. Certainly no 'Sicilian state, Syracuse excepted, will easily drive 'us from any situation we may occupy; or even 'prevent us from occupying any we may desire. 'To be safe, indeed, we have only to reach the 'Sicel territory; for their fear of the Syracusans 'insures to us the friendship of the barbarians. 'Firm minds and orderly conduct then are princi- 'pally necessary to your welfare; and not to yours 'only, but that of the Athenian commonwealth; 'which, however lamentably fallen through our 'misfortune, it may not be beyond our ability to 'restore; since the strength of a state consists,

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'not in towns, not in territory, not in ships, but 'in men.'

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 78.

Having thus spoken, Nicias led the march, the army being disposed in two divisions, with the baggage between them; himself commanding the van, Demosthenes the rear. The road chosen was not toward their Grecian friends of Naxus and Catana, but that by which they hoped most readily to reach the Sicel country; where soonest they might find food and safety, with leisure to concert farther measures. At the ford of the Anapus, very little distant from their camp, they found a body of Syracusans posted to oppose the passage. These they soon forced to retire; but the enemy's horse and light infantry, hanging on their flanks and rear, gave such continued annoyance, that, after a march of only five miles, finding a rising ground commodious for the purpose, they incamped for the night. On the next day they made still less progress. Want of provisions induced them to halt, after a march of only two miles and a half, in a plain where, beside collecting cattle among the farms and villages, they could supply themselves with water, for their progress over the hilly and dry country, which lay next in their way. But, on the third day, the Syracusan horse and light-armed, in larger force than before, gave so much greater annoyance, that, after many hours wasted in unavailing attempts to repress them, the distressed Athenians returned to the camp they had last occupied. Nor could they profit, as on the preceding day, from their situation: even to obtain water, such was the enemy's superiority in cavalry, was difficult and hazardous.

Errors in conduct, evidently in the opinion of Thucydides, had occurred; tho he has avoided,

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as usual, the express declaration of any opinion. Either change of plan, or some greater effort than had yet been made, was clearly indispensable. On the next morning, therefore, they moved earlier than usual, and pressed their march, with the view to occupy the Acræon-lepas, the first narrow at the entrance of the highlands. But the opportunity lost was not so easily recoverable: their slowness had given the enemy time, both to discover their intended course, and to profit from the knowlege; and on their arrival at the Acræon-lepas, they found not only an armed force to oppose them, but the natural difficulties of the pass increased by a fortification. An assault was immediately attempted, which was not in the moment successful. Meanwhile a storm came on; such, says the historian, as in the autumnal season is common; but, in the present wane of the Athenian affairs, and the despondency its consequence, everything was construed as an ill omen, and the generals could not persuade their troops to renew the attack. As constant exertion tends to maintain the animation which success has raised, so new and unexpected opposition commonly inhances the depression of the unfortunate. Gylippus, attentive to every opportunity, and observing the hesitation of the Athenians after their repulse, sent a body of men to raise a fort in their rear, so as to intercept their retreat. The Athenian generals, however, found no difficulty in checking this purpose. Their force was indeed yet such as to deter the enemy from giving them battle; and accordingly they again chose their camp for the night within the plain.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 79.

4 Sept. acc. to Chron. Thu. but rather about 12 or 14 Sept.

But on the morrow, when they moved again, still with the view to force the passage of the mountains, they had no sooner quitted their camp,

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than the Syracusan horse and light-armed were upon their flanks and rear. If they halted to repel the annoyance, the enemy instantly retreated; but the moment they resumed their march, the attack was renewed; and this so repeatedly and efficaciously, that after advancing only one mile through the plain they incamped again. Then the Syracusans also retired to their camp.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 80.

The distress of the Athenians was now become very great: while numbers were suffering from wounds received in the many skirmishes, all were in almost total want of provisions and of all necessaries. The generals therefore came to a sudden resolution to break up their camp by night, and take the road toward the sea, the direct contrary to that which they had been hitherto following, and on which the enemy waited to intercept them. For, pursuing along the coast the way to Camarina and Gela, they might still reach the Sicel territory, by a more circuitous course indeed, but through a more level and open country. The usual fires were lighted, to obviate suspicion in the enemy, and then the army was silently assembled and the march begun. Nicias led, with a hasty pace, yet preserving due regularity. Through some unknown fatality, alarm and tumult arose in the division commanded by Demosthenes. Order was after some time restored; but the two divisions were completely separated.

c. 81.

The Syracusans, as soon as day broke, perceiving the Athenian camp deserted, in the usual temper of democratical jealousy, began to criminate Gylippus, as if he had traiterously permitted the enemy to escape. To discover which way so large a body had directed its march, was however not difficult, and shortly all joined in zealous pursuit.

Demosthenes, notwithstanding the misfortune which had retarded him, had before daybreak reached the road leading from Syracuse to Elorus. A little farther he found a body of Syracusans raising works to obstruct his passage across the gully, through which flows the brook Cacyparis. These he soon dispersed. According to the plan concerted with Nicias, he should then have turned up the course of the Cacyparis, to gain the interior country; but, by the advice of his guides, he proceeded, still near the coast, to the brook Erineus; and there the cavalry of the Syracusan army overtook him. SECT. VIII.

From the first there seems to have been some difference of opinion between the Athenian generals, concerning the manner of conducting the retreat. Nicias thought the safety of the army depended, beyond all things, upon the rapidity of its march: the insult of assault should therefore be borne, and halts made, to repel attacks, only when they threatened very important injury. This evidently was what Thucydides approved. But Demosthenes was more disposed, on every occasion, to revenge with the view to deter annoyance. No sooner therefore were the Syracusan horse now pressing upon his rear, than he changed that line of march by which he could best gain ground, to form his troops so as to act most efficaciously against the enemy. The Syracusans saw their opportunity, and pushed by him while he halted. Their infantry quickly came up, and Demosthenes was surrounded. Too late discovering his error, he took the best measure that circumstances would then admit, occupying a walled inclosure near at hand, where the enemy's horse could not reach him, and where he could defy even their heavy-armed infan-

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try. But repeated sufferings, in the course of this long war, and especially the affair of Pylus, had taught the Lacedæmonians the value of light troops and missile weapons. Gylippus, employing the heavy-armed only in false or in desultory attacks, made principal use of his bowmen, darters, and slingers; and from these, through the remainder of the day, the Athenians had no rest. In the evening, when many were thus wounded, and all worn with hunger, thirst, and fatigue, he sent a herald with a proclamation, promising liberty to any of the ilanders who would come to the Syracusan camp and surrender their arms. Not many, even in so hopeless a situation when all the evils, that the barbarity of antient warfare could inflict, were impending, would forsake their general and their comrades; an instance of fidelity deserving notice the more, as the common conduct of the Athenians would not seem to merit such attachment from their subjects; and while it does honor to themselves and to Demosthenes, it certainly reflects some credit on the government of Athens. So desperate indeed were the circumstances, that, in the same evening, Demosthenes capitulated for the rest of his troops, surrendering himself and them prisoners of war, with no other stipulation than that none should suffer death, either through violence or for want of sustenance. With their arms they gave up all their money, throwing it into the hollow of shields held to receive it, and four shields were thus filled with silver. The prisoners, in number about six thousand, were immediately conducted to Syracuse.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 82.

Meanwhile Nicias, having ascended some way by the course of the Cacyparis, crossed to the Eri-

neus[27], passed that stream, considerably above the scene of Demosthenes's fate, and incamped on some high ground near the farther bank. Early next morning the Syracusan army hastened in pursuit, and the horse quickly overtaking him, gave information of the capitulation made by Demosthenes, and summoned him to surrender himself and the forces under his command. Refusing credit to such intelligence so transmitted, he asked a safe-conduct for a horseman of his own to make the inquiry, which was granted. The return of his messenger assuring him of the fact, he then sent to propose, in the name of the Athenian commonwealth, reïmbursement to Syracuse of all the expences of the war, upon condition only that the troops under his command might depart in safety; and for security he would leave Athenian citizens as hostages, one for every talent that would thus become due. The proposal was rejected, and the Athenian army was quickly surrounded by the multitude of the enemy; who would however neither make nor sustain any regular attack, but continued, till evening, unceasing annoyance with missile weapons.

SECT. VIII.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 83. 7 Sept. Chron. Thu. but rather a week later.

Among the distresses of the Athenians, not the least was the want of provisions. Could they have supported the enemy's assaults on their present ground, they could not have subsisted there. Nicias therefore, about midnight, called to arms as silently as possible, with intention to pursue his march: but the watchful enemy perceived his motions, and immediately sang the pæan. Upon this he gave up the design, and remained in his camp; but a body of about three hundred, without

[27] This appears from a comparison of the 80th chapter of Thucydides with the 83d.

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his orders, made a successful push at the enemy's line, broke through, and, under favor of the obscurity, quickly got beyond immediate pursuit. Nicias waited for the dawn, and then continued his march. Even then the enemy, under the able conduct of Gylippus and Hermocrates, would come to no regular action, but only infested, as before, with missile weapons and desultory charges of cavalry. Sicily, through the greatest part of its extent, is high land, intersected with numerous valleys, whose sides are commonly steep, and the banks of the streams, flowing through them, often craggy. At no great distance from the camp, which the Athenians had quitted, the river Assinarus has a deep and rocky channel. While extreme thirst urged their steps to its stream, they hoped that, if they could once reach its further bank, they should gain some respite from the annoyance of the enemy's cavalry; and the light-armed would be less formidable, when unsupported by the heavy-armed and horse. But, notwithstanding all the exertion which such motives inforced, when they reached the bank the enemy's heavy-armed were close upon them. Discipline then yielded to the pressure of evil felt and danger threatening. Without any order they hurried down the steep, pushing and trampling on oneanother; and, in the tumult, some were destroyed by the spears of their comrades. The first object of most was to assuage intolerable thirst. Meanwhile the enemy's light-armed, acquainted with all the ways, reached the opposite bank before them, and the whole Athenian army, inclosed in [the hollow, was exposed, helpless, to missile weapons on both sides. The Peloponnesians at length led the way for the Syracusans, down into the bottom, to complete the slaughter; while the Athenians, still resisting to

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 84. Sept. 8. or rather about 15.

the utmost, were so pressed by extreme thirst, that, in the midst of action, many of them would drink the turbid and bloody water, and even fight for it. SECT. VIII.

Already they were lying dead in heaps in the river, while the horse pursued and cut off any who could escape up the banks, when Nicias, whom nothing could induce to submit to the Syracusans, found opportunity to surrender himself to Gylippus. That general then commanded to give quarter, and was obeyed. Among the rocks, and in the windings of the stream, a large number of the Athenians found opportunity for either concealment or flight: the rest were made prisoners. No capitulation was made, as for the division under Demosthenes: and, prisoners being valuable as slaves, the Syracusan soldiers were diligent in embeziling them as their private property. In this way they were so successful, that the prisoners of the Syracusan state remained comparatively few. A detachment was sent after the three hundred who broke through the Syracusan line in the night, and took them all. The public prisoners, with what spoil could be collected, were conducted to Syracuse. Thucyd. l. 7. c. 85. c. 86.

It would have been a glorious and a singular triumph, for Gylippus, to have carried the Athenian generals, the two most illustrious men of their time, prisoners to Sparta; one distinguished for his friendly disposition toward the Lacedæmonian people, the other for his successes against them. But the jealous, cruel, and faithless temper of democratical despotism disappointed his just expectation. A decree of the Syracusan people condemned both to death, and they were executed. In the antient democracies, the most worthless individual, touching at any time a chord in consonance with popular passion, could procure the sanction of soverein au-

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thority for any villany. For where neither one person nor a select body was responsible, but the whole people, truly despotic, were the common authors of every public act, the shame of flagitious measures was so divided that it was disregarded. For any one to own himself author of the black decree against Nicias and Demosthenes, the one intitled to the protection of the Spartan general, the other under that of a capitulation solemnly granted in the name of the Syracusan people, appears, for a time at least, to have been avoided. Thucydides says the circumstances immediately leading to the measure were not, in his time, with any certainty known at Athens. It seems likely to have been in the desire of those concerned, to shift the black imputation upon others, that it was by some thrown on Gylippus. The party politics of aftertimes led the Sicilian historian Timæus to calumniate Hermocrates. But Diodorus, who may have had sources of information not open to Thucydides, and who, tho a zealot for democracy, and of little judgement, was of much candor, attributes the motion for the flagitious decree positively to Diocles, then a leader of the democratical party, afterward, as we shall see, ruler of the republic, and always the opponent of Hermocrates. And this well agrees with those circumstances connected with the measure, which Thucydides proceeds to relate, as all he could obtain toward elucidation of it. The fears, he says, of those who had carried on treasonable correspondence with Nicias, induced them, if not to promote, yet to concur in the vote for putting him to death; and the Corinthians had particular enmity to him, apprehensive, for some cause not explained to us, that his restoration to power in Athens would be injurious to their interest. All authorities however

Diod. l. 13. c. 19. Plut. vit. Nic.

agree that it was a public and solemn decree of the Syracusan people which consigned the Athenian generals to execution[28].

Meanwhile the miserable remnant of their once florishing army, the greatest ever sent out by any one Grecian state, was reserved for a still severer lot. A vast quarry in the hill of Epipolæ, whence the stone had been principally taken for building the city, was judged the most secure and commodious place for the confinement of such a multitude of men, so versed in the use of arms. Into this the freemen were conducted, to the number of about seven thousand: the slaves were sold by public auction. But the faith of the Syracusan people, so shamefully broken with the generals, was not very religiously kept with those of inferior rank. On the contrary, their whole conduct was marked with a spirit of deliberate cruelty, the general vice, it must be confessed, of the fairest days of Greece; which yet ought not to be attributed to the disposition of the people, since it was the unavoidable result of the political state of the country. The Syracusans saw, in the Athenian prisoners, not generous enemies, but oppressors, who would have reduced them to the deepest misery. Tho food therefore was not denied, yet it was given in quantity barely sufficient to support life; and cruelty was still more shown in the scanty allowance of water. No shelter was afforded from the inclemency of the sky; and while the reflected heat of the midday sun, in the open and capacious dun-

[28] Plutarch, in his life of Nicias, professes to have taken particular pains to collect and collate whatever remained to his time concerning the expedition against Syracuse; but his account is satisfactory chiefly as it tends to confirm that of Thucydides, without adding scarcely anything of any importance.

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geon, was scarcely tolerable, the chill of autumnal night made an alternacy very injurious to health. No means were given to avoid their own filth; no care was taken of those who sickened; and, when any died, as many did, some of unattended wounds, some of disorder caused by various hardship, the bodies remained to putrefy among their living companions; and the eloquent historian, here as on a former occasion, failing of words to his mind to describe the extreme misery, sums up all with saying, that no suffering could possibly result from so wretched a situation, which was not experienced by the Athenian prisoners. Toward the end of November, after a confinement of about seventy days, the ilanders, and others who were not citizens of Athens, or of some Grecian town of Sicily or Italy, were taken out for the milder lot of being sold to slavery. The Athenians, with the Sicilian and Italian Greeks, remained; and we are not informed that they were ever released.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 85.

Meanwhile those, of the army under Nicias, who, instead of public prisoners of the Syracusan state, had been made the private property of individuals, suffered variously, according to the condition or temper of the masters, under whom they fell; and, of those who had escaped by flight, few fared better; for, unable to find subsistence, they were mostly reduced to the hard resource of offering themselves, in any town they could reach, to voluntary slavery. Thus, says the historian, all the towns of Sicily abounded with Grecian slaves. A

c. 86.

few only had the good fortune to make their way, immediately from the field of action, to the friendly city of Catana, whence they got their passage to Athens; but afterward others found means to fly from bondage to the same asylum.

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In the miserable state of servile dependency, to which such numbers of Athenians were reduced, the science, litterature, fine taste, and polite manners of Athens, are said to have been beneficial to many. Some, who were fortunate enough to meet with masters of liberal disposition, were treated with the respect due to superior accomplishments; some were even presented with their freedom. Since the days of Hieron, the litterature of Greece or Ionia had little made its way to Sicily; and, through defect of materials, copies of books were not yet readily multiplied. But many of the Athenians retained, by memory, much of the works of Euripides; whose moral and pathetic strains, which they used to sing as the solace of their bondage, singularly touched the Sicilians. Euripides lived to receive the grateful acknowlegements of some who returned to Athens, and related what kindness they had received in servitude, or what relief in beggary, for the pleasure they gave by speaking, singing, or teaching, his verses. Plut. vit. Nic.

CHAPTER XIX.

Affairs of GREECE, from the Conclusion of the SICILIAN Expedition till the Return of ALCIBIADES to ATHENS, in the Twenty-fourth Year of the PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

SECTION I.

Effects at Athens of the News of the Overthrow in Sicily: Effects through Greece of the Overthrow of the Athenians in Sicily. Change in the political System of Lacedæmon. Measures of the Peloponnesian Confederacy for raising a Fleet. Proposals from Eubœa and Lesbos to revolt from the Athenian to the Peloponnesian Confederacy.

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THE news of the total destruction of the most powerful armament ever sent out by any Grecian state, supposed so far from the danger of such a catastrophë that it was capable of accomplishing almost any conquest, being first brought to Athens by no official messenger, but communicated accidentally in the uncertain way of reports, did not immediately find credit. Plutarch relates that a foreiner, landing at Peiræus, went into a barber's shop, which, like the modern coffee-house, was the usual resort of idle newsmongers in the Grecian cities (as, we find, afterward in Rome) and spoke of the event as what he supposed would of course be well known there. The barber, with more zeal than discretion, went immediately into the city, and communicated the intelligence to the archons; who, with the natural anxiety of magistrates under the tyranny of a despotic multitude, summoned an as-

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 1.

Plut. vit. Nic.

sembly of the people, and produced the barber to declare his news. The people, in extreme agitation, demanded his authority. The incautious man could produce none: he had no previous acquaintance with the person from whom he received the information, and knew not where to find him. The indignant multitude immediately ordered the barber to the torture of the wheel, (a mode of punishment nowhere exactly described to us, but which it seems might be borne long[1],) and he was not released till some of the more fortunate few, who had escaped from the scene of woe, arriving, confirmed the uncertain intelligence. Even these, however, were not at first credited for the full extent of the misfortune. Multiplied concurring testimonies at length removing every doubt of the magnitude of the calamity, then public anguish became extreme. Popular rage began with venting contumely against the orators who had advised the expedition; as if, says the historian, the people themselves had not directed it; and, in fact, the people in assembly holding the executive as well as the legislative government, every one being free to propose, and sometimes a majority with tumultuous clamor commanding measures, there could be no duly responsible minister. From the orators then the public anger extended to the soothsayers, augurs, interpreters, any who had contributed to establish the belief that the gods would favor the project of conquest in Sicily. But in this excessive irritation of the public mind, fear soon became the prevailing passion. Private losses of friends or relations, which stimulated the first movements, gave way to the consideration, that the commonwealth had not such another body of citizens,

SECT. I.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 1.

B.C. 413. Ol. 91. 4. P. W. 19. October.

[1] Ἐς τὴν τροχὸν καταδεθείς, ἐξεβλαύετο πολὺν χρόνον. κ. τ. ε.—Plut. vit. Nic.

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in the prime of life, as that which had been so rashly committed to destruction, nor such a fleet, nor naval stores to fit such another, nor funds to supply the accumulated wants which the conjuncture created: and then it followed, that nothing less was to be expected than the appearance of the enemy's victorious navy before Peiræus, and the blockade of Athens by land and sea.

In this general consternation, however, there were not wanting either able heads or magnanimous minds among the Athenians, and the crisis itself gave them the power to take the lead. Wise measures, and the most vigorous that circumstances admitted, were accordingly resolved on; to restore the navy, to collect stores, to raise money, and to save it, by abridging, not private luxury, which was yet moderate, but public luxury, which was already immoderate in Athens[2], and, above all things, to obviate the defection of the allied and subject states, particularly of Eubœa, the most valuable dependency of the commonwealth, and without which the population of Athens could not easily subsist. But the depth of misfortune, into which their own folly had precipitated them, induced, among the Athenian people, a consciousness that a multitude is unfit to direct executive government. To obviate therefore the extravagancies of unbalanced democracy, a new council of elders was created, whose office was to deliberate on all public measures, previously to their being proposed to the general assembly. This indeed was providing for the prudence of executive

[2] Duker has a judicious note upon the passage of Thucydides, which I have thus paraphrased. The scholiast has undertaken to explain what, for want of better inquiry into the state of Athens at the time, he evidently did not understand.

government, but not for vigor, not for secresy, not for dispatch; qualities which could meet in the Athenian administration only when a Themistocles or a Pericles, general at the same time and demagogue, controled by no council, could first resolve on measures, and then command the approbation of the general assembly. Never however were the Athenian people so disposed to moderation, order, and attention to wise advice, as in the present crisis. 'It was so resolved therefore,' says the cotemporary historian emphatically, 'and it 'was done; and the summer ended.' SECT. I.

Meanwhile the attention of all Greece was excited, and the politics of every republic put in motion by the blow which Athens had received in Sicily. Apprehension of the consequence of so great an addition to the power of that ambitious and restless republic, as the conquest of Sicily might have given, had been very general and very serious. No evil that could befall the aristocracies, which composed the Lacedæmonian confederacy, was so dreadful and so odious as subjugation under the tyrannous rule of the Athenian multitude. Nor was Lacedæmon itself without alarm; for tho the conquest of Sparta was not likely soon to be accomplished by the Athenian arms, yet there was no inferior evil which might not be expected, and quickly. Already the Lacedæmonians beheld, not only many of their dependencies wrested from them, but two garrisons established within their own country, infesting a large part of it with devastation, to which they could neither prescribe bounds nor foresee an end. At the same time the Athenian fleets so decidedly commanded the seas, that no prospect appeared of means for competition with them on that element; insomuch that not Thucyd. l. 8. c. 2.

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only the Lacedæmonians were unable to extend protection to any allies beyond the ready reach of their landforce, but the extensive line of the Laconian coast must be continually open to insult. In all these things the catastrophë at Syracuse made a change, that nothing but the mad ambition, or madder jealousy, of a despotic multitude could have produced; and that change was immediate and almost total. The navy of Athens was no longer formidable; the Peloponnesian fleets now commanded the seas. The allies of Lacedæmon, therefore, no longer fearing anything from the enemy, became only anxious for exertion, that they might speedily, as they trusted they could easily, complete the purpose of the war, and relieve themselves from burdens under which they had been long uneasy. The neutral republics, at the same time, thought the moment come for deciding their party, before it was yet too late to claim merit for the decision. But the principal effect was seen among the subject states of Athens; who, with unadvised eagerness, pressed forward in revolt, taking it for certain that the Athenians would be unable to maintain the war through the insuing summer. Meanwhile the Lacedæmonians, with the characteristical coolness of their government, injoyed the view of this various fermentation, and prepared to profit from it to the establishment of their own permanent superiority over all Greece, to which they now looked as an acquisition completely within their power.

Among the circumstances of these times, a change in the Lacedæmonian system, which considerably affected the general politics of Greece, will require notice. The Lacedæmonian kings, who in Lacedæmon, except when presiding at

SECT. I.

some religious ceremony, were scarcely distinguished from the mass of citizens, being obliged, in all political business, to yield to the tyrannical authority of the ephors, injoyed, in the command of armies abroad, a more truly royal state as well as a more efficacious royal authority. The interest which they thus had in leading their country into long and distant wars, had been restrained by the law of Lycurgus, forbidding such wars; and that law, inforced sometimes by the opposite interest of the ephors, had been much more effectually and constantly inforced by the poverty of the Lacedæmonian commonwealth. Nevertheless, before the Persian war, Cleomenes, by ingaging the state in frequent hostilities, appears to have acquired extraordinary power; and afterward, in the new and vast scene of action which the Persian war opened, Pausanias, tho not king but meerly regent and general of the republic, was able to prosecute ambitious views to a great length. His own imprudence indeed, more than any other obstacle, seems to have ruined his purpose: and the insuing downfall of the power of Sparta checked, for a time, the ambition of its generals and kings. When the Peloponnesian war broke out, Archidamus, a prince advanced in years, and of a character singularly amiable, prudent at the same time and philanthropic, seems to have had no object, in command, but the good of his country and of all Greece. His son Agis, a man of moderate talents, would perhaps not have attempted innovation, if circumstances had not led to it. He succeeded to the throne in an early stage of a most complicated and lasting war. Error in conduct, apparently the consequence of error in judgement, produced, as we have seen, very severe, cen-

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sure upon him from those who, in Lacedæmon, had legal authority to censure and even to punish kings. Afterward, by his success at Mantineia, he acquired some reputation. He was still in the vigor of his age, but of large experience, when the establishment of a standing force in Decelèia gave him, what none of his predecessors ever injoyed, a perennial military command. Here he found himself reälly king: here he was free from the vexatious and degrading control of the ephors: here he might not only use at discretion the troops immediately under his orders, but he had authority to levy forces, raise contributions, exercise command among the allies of the commonwealth, and treat with foreïn states. Thus vested with independent power, he was of course respected, and could make himself feared; so that much more deference was paid by the states of the confederacy to Agis, in his garrison at Decelèia, than to any Spartan king at home, or even to the Spartan government itself. The residence of his garrison therefore was not unlikely to be preferred to that of his capital. These were consequences apparently not in the view of the Lacedæmonian administration, when the advice of the Athenian refugee was taken for the permanent occupying of a post in Attica; yet the circumstances of the Lacedæmonian government prevented any effectual effort to check them.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 5.

The establishment of a public revenue at Lacedæmon seems to have been a departure from the spirit, at least, of Lycurgus's system. When such an establishment was first made, we are not informed; but we find Archidamus, in the debates preceding the Peloponnesian war, speaking of it not as a new thing. The length of that war, and the

extent of the scene of action, would make attention to the revenue more than ever necessary; and thus again a new interest was created, intimately connected with that which led the kings to desire war always rather than peace, and any residence rather than that of Sparta. Through the business of the revenue, the leading men at home might have an interest in yielding to the king's wish for forein command; and hence the influence of the king, tho at a distance, might keep together a party in Lacedæmon. Agis in his command at Deceleia did not neglect this policy. SECT. I. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 5.

The Lacedæmonian government now, with serious earnestness, applied themselves to what had been their professed purpose at the beginning of the war, the acquisition of a fleet to rival that of Athens. The project, then wild, was become at length practicable. Instead of five hundred triremes, originally proposed, one hundred were now required of the confederacy. The Lacedæmonians themselves undertook for twenty-five. An equal number was appointed to Bœotia, fifteen only to Corinth, fifteen to Locris and Phocis, ten to Arcadia with Pallenë and Sicyon, and ten to Megara, Trœzen, Epidaurus, and Hermione. Agis was directed to collect the contributions for the purpose from the northern states. Accordingly, with such an escort as he judged sufficient, he marched from Deceleia about the beginning of November; and after receiving what had been assessed upon the friendly, he proceeded to increase the sum by taking from the hostile. Turning toward the Malian bay, he carried off considerable booty from the Œtæan valleys; and then, advancing still northward, he compelled the Phthiot Achaians, with some other tribes subject to the Thessalians, in de- Ibid. c. 4.

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fiance of the resentment of that people, to deliver hostages and pay contributions.

Meanwhile the Athenians, recovered in some degree from the first emotions of grief and alarm, and submitting themselves to able guidance, were taking measures, suited to their reduced circumstances, for resisting the impending storm. Their first diligence was directed to the collection of naval stores, and the building of ships; for on the possession of a powerful fleet every thing depended. Their next care was to increase the security of vessels passing between Eubœa and Athens; for without free communication with Eubœa, the city could not easily be subsisted. With this view therefore a fort was erected on the promontory of Sunium. Thus, but especially in the renovation of the fleet, a large but indispensable expence would be incurred, which would inforce the necessity of parsimony in matters of inferior moment. The garrison was therefore withdrawn from that post in Laconia which had been occupied by Demosthenes in his way to Sicily, and measures were taken to reduce unnecessary expences, and establish exact economy in public affairs. Thus, says the cotemporary historian, in the close of the nineteenth year of the war, preparations were making on both sides, as if war was just then beginning.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 5.

But it was not possible for any prudence, among the Athenians, to prevent that consequence of their late misfortune, which they most apprehended and their enemies most hoped, the defection of their allies and the revolt of their subjects. The Eubœans, whose country was so important to Athens, that a better government would never have left it in the situation of a subject-state, but would have

given its people one interest with themselves, were foremost to take measures for breaking their dependency. The residence of the Lacedæmonian king in their neighborhood offered new opportunity for the intrigues of the discontented: the consideration of the force that he could command from the surrounding states, in addition to that constantly under his orders, gave large incouragement; and, soon after the arrival of the news of the Sicilian defeat, a proposal was communicated to Agis from a strong party in Eubœa, to bring over the whole iland to the Lacedæmonian confederacy. Agis gave assurances that the force under his command should be employed in their favor, and in communicating the project to the Lacedæmonian administration, he used his interest to promote their cause. But the cautious government of Lacedæmon, tho unwilling to reject so advantageous a proposal, was nevertheless little disposed to any spirited exertion for assisting it. Three hundred only of those called neodamodes, newly-admitted citizens, were granted for the service; who, under the command of Alcamenes, marched into Attica. SECT. I.

Agis was taking measures for transporting this body into Eubœa, when a deputation from Lesbos, also proposing revolt, reduced him to difficulty. His desire coïncided with the wishes both of the Eubœans and the Lesbians; but neither people could effect their purpose without assistance, and he was unable to give it at the same time to both. He was already ingaged to the Eubœans; and their extensive country, almost adjoining to the coast of Bœotia, whether as loss to Athens, or gain to the Peloponnesian confederacy, was far more important than the smaller iland of Lesbos, on the

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other side of the Ægean. But the Bœotians, the most powerful of the allies of Lacedæmon, had a strong partiality for the Lesbians, whom, as of Æolian race, they considered as kinsmen; while the Lesbians, tho connected by no political interest, revered the Bœotians as the chiefs of their blood. Agis, whether considering the interest of Lacedæmon or his own interest, desirous of gratifying the Bœotians, resolved to postpone the business of Eubœa to that of Lesbos. Accordingly, without any communication with Lacedæmon, he ordered Alcamenes to conduct to Lesbos that very force, which had been sent by the Lacedæmonian government for the express purpose of assisting the revolt in Eubœa.

SECTION II.

New Implication of Grecian and Persian Interests. Death of Artaxerxes, and Succession of Darius II. to the Persian Throne. Effect of the Terrors of an Earthquake. Congress of the Peloponnesian Confederacy at Corinth. Isthmian Games. Naval Success of the Athenians in the Saronic Gulph. Influence of Alcibiades in the Spartan Councils. A Peloponnesian Fleet sent under Chalcideus, accompanied by Alcibiades, to coöperate with the Satrap of Caria and the revolted Ionians. Increased Distress of Athens. Treaty of Alliance between Lacedæmon and Persia.

Nor all the sounding vaunts and ingenious panegyrics, of later writers, mark so strongly the ascendancy which the little commonwealth of Athens had acquired in the politics of the civilized world, and the degree to which it had repressed the force, or at least the spirit, of the vast empire of the east, or display so clearly the superiority, which a few consenting thousands, ably directed, may acquire over ill-governed millions, as the cotemporary

historian's simple narrative of the consequences of the Athenian defeat in Sicily. That event in the west presently set the east in motion, and the affairs of Greece became in a new way implicated with those of Persia. Darius had succeeded his farther Artaxerxes in the throne. Artaxerxes, tho an able prince, and interrupted by no considerable forein wars, had exerted himself, through a long reign, with very incomplete success, to restore vigor to the unwieldy mass of the empire. While his cares were employed in composing the disorders, which troubles, preceding his accession, had produced in the central parts, the connection with the distant provinces remained loose and imperfect; insomuch that, independently of any effort of the satraps for the purpose, a more independent power accrued to them, than could consist with the good government of the whole. Thus, upon the appointment of Tissaphernes to the satrapy of Caria, Amorges, natural son of the late satrap Pissuthnes, was incouraged to revolt; not perhaps in professed opposition to the soverein of the empire, but to the new satrap only. Regardless, however, of the mandates of the prince, and in defiance of the arms of his officers, he maintained himself in the Carian mountains. SECT. II.

But the wants of the Persian government pressed upon those to whom its powers were delegated, in proportion as its weakness incouraged opposition to them. The satraps were required to remit from their provinces, not only the accruing tributes, but the arrears. From the time of the victories of Cimon, most of the Grecian towns in Asia had been tributary to Athens, and many of them since those of Xanthippus and Leotychidas. The jealousy of the Athenian government allowed few to

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remain fortified; yet the terror of the Athenian name kept them secure, as far as history informs us, against any attempts from the Persians, except in one instance, when sedition at Colophon afforded an opportunity, the advantage of which, however, was of short duration. Nevertheless the Persian court affected to consider all those towns as still appendages of the empire, and a tribute assessed upon them was required from the satraps[3]. The wretched policy of Athens, in the government of its dependencies, so far promoted the views of the Persians, that there was in every Asiatic city a party, composed mostly of the higher ranks, who were ready to prefer the more liberal supremacy of a Persian satrap to the oppressive and insulting tyranny of the Athenian people. Under these circumstances it appears difficult to say which was most wonderful, the strength of the little commonwealth of Athens, which could hold such a command, or the weakness of the vast empire of Persia, which could not recover its dominion. The plea of inability from the satraps had at length been allowed at the Persian court, so far that the arrears of tribute due from Tissaphernes, for the Grecian towns within his satrapy, were no longer demanded[4]. But at the same time that this indulgence

Ch. 15. s. 3. of this Hist.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 5.

[3] What we find from Thucydides upon this subject, in the fifth and sixth chapters of his eighth book, implies the strongest contradiction of the report, transmitted by later writers, of a treaty of peace, by which the court of Persia gave up all claim upon the Grecian towns in Asia, and ingaged that no Persian troops should come within three days march of the western coast. See note 11. sect. 3. ch. 11. of this History.

[4] We are little exactly informed of the extent of the several satrapies, or of the powers, privileges, and duties of the satraps. We learn however from Xenophon (Hel. l. 3. c. 1. s. 5, & seq.

SECT. II.

was granted, it was with reason required that a Persian subject should not be allowed to maintain himself in rebellion: Tissaphernes was commanded to send Amorges, alive or dead, to Susa. To effect even this, however, either means were deficient, or conduct, and Amorges continued to defy the Persian power. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 6.

It was very generally supposed that, by the defeat in Sicily, the command of the sea was completely lost to Athens; and, throughout the Asiatic Grecian cities, the aristocratical party were immediately looking out for means of mending their condition by revolt. The Lesbians had begun: the Chians and Erythræans followed: but, diffident of their own strength, their first measure was to communicate with Tissaphernes. The satrap, however, did not think himself able, with his own force, to give them protection; but he gladly united his interest with theirs, and together they sent ministers to Lacedæmon. At the same time Pharnabazus, satrap of the provinces bordering on the Hellespont and the Euxine, with the same view of acquiring revenue from the Grecian cities within his satrapy, was also desirous of forming an alliance with the Lacedæmonians; who would probably rather see those cities tributary to Persia, than sources of revenue to Athens. He employed, for his ministers on this occasion, two refugee Greeks, Calligeitus, a Megarian, and Timagorus, a Cyzicene, who arrived at Lacedæmon about the same time with the ministers from Tissaphernes and

& c. 2. s. 10.), that Caria was the proper satrapy of Tissaphernes, and (Anab. l. 1. c. 1. s. 6.) that Ionia was added to his command by the king's particular favor; but his authority, at least in the absence of other officers, was often extended over Sardis and great part of Lydia.

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from Chios and Erythræ. The Lesbian ministers, who had been negotiating with Agis at Deceleia, also met them there.

The contest which insued, for preference in the Lacedæmonian alliance, gave opportunity for intrigue, in which Alcibiades was likely to enter and likely to be successful. Endius, ephor of the year, was of that Spartan family with which principally his family had had antient hospitality, and Endius was now his particular friend. With Agis he was not upon good terms: it was therefore his purpose to make Endius also the enemy of Agis; and the opposition of interests among those who were contending for the Lacedæmonian alliance, afforded means. Agis favored the pretensions of the Lesbians, whose cause he had already adopted. Alcibiades persuaded Endius to favor the Chians; and grounds were not wanting for giving them the preference: they possessed no less than sixty ships of war: in every circumstance of military strength they were superior to any among the Asian Greeks; and what was perhaps a still more important consideration, their alliance would carry with it that of the powerful satrap who commanded the south-western provinces of Lesser Asia. These motives, urged by the ability of Alcibiades, persuaded Endius, and, with him, a majority of those who directed the councils of Lacedæmon. A treaty was accordingly concluded with the Chians and Erythræans, and forty ships of war were voted, to support them in their proposed revolt. Ten, under Melanchridas, were ordered to sail while it was yet winter; but the superstitious terror which an earthquake inspired, gave some check to the measure. The earthquake apparently was supposed to portend that the command of Melanchridas

would be inauspicious; for the Lacedæmonian government immediately appointed Chalcideus to supersede him, and reduced the squadron to five ships. SECT. II.

The part of Sparta being thus taken, and, almost in the same instant, the usual want of energy in her councils demonstrated, the Chians became apprehensive that intelligence of their negotiation would reach Athens, and they might be attacked before succour, sufficient for their protection, would arrive. Toward spring therefore they sent again to Lacedæmon, urging the necessity of early assistance; and the ability of Alcibiades and the power of Endius being united, to promote their cause, it was resolved that the whole fleet in the Corinthian gulph, including the squadron prepared by Agis for the expedition to Lesbos, should be dragged across the isthmus, and proceed for Chios. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 7. B.C. 412. Ol. $\frac{91}{4}$. $\frac{1}{4}$. P. W. 20.

Before this was carried into execution, however, it was thought proper to hold a congress of the confederacy; and Corinth was appointed for the place of meeting. Agis attended from Deceleia. He had the prudence not to mark any resentment at the interference with his command, or any way to irritate an administration ill disposed to him, by opposing measures on which they had a constitutional right to decide; and yielding thus in part, he carried also a part of his purpose. In conformity to the proposition from Lacedæmon, the congress resolved, that the whole fleet should go first to Chios, under the command of Chalcideus, who was then superintending the equipment of a squadron on the Laconic coast; that, when the Chians were put in a state of security, Alcamenes, the officer named by Agis, should take the command and proceed to Lesbos; that, when the business Thucyd. l. 8. c. 8.

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there also was completed, the command should pass to Clearchus, who should conduct the fleet to the Hellespont, and act with Pharnabazus.

The fleet in the gulph consisted of thirty-nine triremes. Twenty-one were in all haste hauled across the isthmus; and it was the wish of the congress that these should sail without delay. Thus, it was hoped, the Athenians, having their attention divided between the division sailing and that remaining to sail, would act effectually against neither. But it happened that the season of the Isthmian games was at hand; and such was the respected sanctity of the armistice upon that occasion, that even the Athenians might come and go and stay in safety. The preparations therefore would become unavoidably notorious; and even the negotiations, in which so many persons, with various interests, had communicated, would probably not remain long secret. But the very circumstance of the games, which increased the anxiety of the other confederates for the instant departure of the squadron, determined the Corinthians not to stir. The force of Athens, they said, was already broken; and nothing to be apprehended from any discovery of the purposes of the confederacy, nor any obstacle that could arise from a little delay, was of importance enough to prevent a large portion of their citizens from partaking in that magnificent and sacred festival, whose period would recur only in the revolution of four years.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 9.

The negotiation had indeed been conducted with such care that nothing transpired. But the movements of the fleet excited suspicion; the persons discovered to be coming and going directed suspicion to its object; and Aristocrates, one of the generals of Athens, was sent to Chios. His in-

structions directed him to inform himself of the state of things in the iland, and, as a precaution, to require that the ships, which, according to the terms of the confederacy, the Chians were bound to furnish for the Athenian fleet, should be immediately sent to Peiræus. The proposed revolt was a measure intirely of the aristocratical party, and not yet communicated to the general assembly, or to any in the democratical interest. The leaders therefore, thus taken unprepared, denied any intention to break their antient connection with Athens, and, in conformity to the requisition, they sent seven ships to join the Athenian fleet. SECT. II.

At the celebration of the Isthmian games many Athenians attended: the preparations were seen, the purpose suspected, and measures were taken at Athens accordingly. The festival was no sooner concluded than the twenty-one triremes, already transported across the isthmus, sailed under the command of Alcamenes. The Athenians attacked them with superior force; the Peloponnesians were defeated; Alcamenes was killed; one trireme was taken; the others reached a desert port of the Corinthian territory on the confines of Epidauria, called Peiræus. The Athenians followed, but did not think proper to attack them there. According to the usual mode of naval operation in that age, leaving a few triremes to watch them, they withdrew with the rest to a small iland near the coast, where they incamped. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 10. c. 11.

Intelligence of this action occasioned much alarm in Corinth. The neighboring allies were summoned, and, with such force as could be hastily assembled, the Corinthians marched to protect the defeated armament. Where soldiers were citizens,

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not under any regular military command, but having every one a vote in the decision of all public measures, it was often more difficult for the administration to get a service of tedious inconvenience performed, than one of great momentary danger. Accordingly the first proposal, concerning the ships in the desert harbor of Peiræus, was to burn rather than undertake a lasting guard upon them, in such a situation. After some deliberation, however, the consideration of the expence and difficulty of repairing the loss, induced the resolution not to submit to it without a struggle. The ships were therefore hauled ashore, and a considerable body of infantry incamped for their protection. Information of the defeat and death of Alcamenes being in the meantime carried to Lacedæmon, not only the departure of the squadron under Chalcideus was stopped, but it was proposed at once to give up all the great views of advantage, that had been opened on the other side of the Ægean.

The ascendancy of Athenian genius showed itself, even in those circumstances which contributed most to the downfall of the Athenian empire. What the Lacedæmonian administration had neither foresight to plan nor spirit to execute, the illustrious but unprincipled Athenian refugee, participating, through the ephor his friend, in their closest councils, planned and executed for them. He urged that, if the small squadron under Chalcideus hastened to Chios, before the news of the disaster on the coast of Peloponnesus arrived there, the acquisition of that iland might yet be effected. He would himself accompany the squadron; he would represent, in proper terms, the weakness of Athens, and the power and zeal of Lacedæmon; and he doubted not of accomplishing the revolt, not

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 12.

only of Chios, but of all Ionia. Such were the inducements which he held out generally. In private he farther stimulated Endius with a display of the credit, which such an acquisition to the Lacedæmonian confederacy would bring to his administration, and of the still more important advantages of an alliance between Lacedæmon and the court of Persia, which would be the ready consequence. In the circumstances of the moment, all was in his own power: if he neglected the opportunity, everything would pass from him to his rival Agis.

Thus incited, Endius became earnest in prosecution of the plans of Alcibiades: they were adopted by the Lacedæmonian administration, and Chalcideus, accompanied by Alcibiades, sailed for Ionia. In their passage, to prevent communication of intelligence, they stopped all merchant-ships they fell in with, compelled them to follow as far as Corycus on the Asiatic coast, and there dismissed them. Deputies from the leaders of the Chian revolt shortly came to Corycus, and the fleet then proceeded for Chios. Its arrival occasioned universal astonishment and alarm, except among the aristocratical leaders, who were completely prepared. The council, according to previous concert, was sitting; and Alcibiades and Chalcideus were received by it to make their proposals. They boldly asserted that a large fleet was on its way from Peloponnesus: fortunately for them not a rumor of the defeat on the Corinthian coast had reached Chios: a decree was proposed for renouncing the Athenian and ingaging in the Peloponnesian confederacy; and, without any material opposition from the democratical party, it was carried. The Erythræans immediately followed the exam-

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 14.

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ple; and, three ships only being sent to Clazomenæ, that city also joined in the measure. Thus, with the small force of only five triremes, Alcibiades struck a greater blow against his country, than the Lacedæmonians and their confederates, after all the great advantage gained in Sicily, had almost dared to meditate.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 15.

The affairs of Athens were now in such a situation, that it was judged lawful and necessary to recur to the deposit of a thousand talents, set apart in the beginning of the war for cases of extremest necessity. No enemy's fleet yet blockaded the harbor of Peiræus (the emergency specified as the requisite justification), yet, on the arrival of intelligence of the revolt of Chios, the danger was thought scarcely less pressing than if Athens were actually invested. For, the most powerful ally of the commonwealth having set the example of revolt, it was concluded that the other allies and subjects would follow; and thus there would be an end of those resources without which the war could not be supported. The prohibitory decree therefore was repealed, and a kind of confidential vote passed, directing that every effort should be made for raising a fleet, the most powerful that circumstances would allow, and that the speediest exertion should be used, for saving the dependencies yet remaining to the commonwealth, and recovering, if opportunity should occur, those which had already revolted.

The directors of executive government, thus vested with discretionary powers, sent instant orders for arresting the crews of the Chian ships acting with the fleet on the Corinthian coast. This was successfully executed: the free were imprisoned, the slaves declared free, and the ships were

replaced by an equal number of Athenian ships. Eight triremes remained equipped in the harbor of Peiræus: they were dispatched for Asia under the command of Strombichides: twelve, nearly ready, were ordered to follow under Thrasycles; and thirty were put in preparation to be sent after them as soon as possible. SECT. II.

Strombichides hastening to Samos, obtained one Samian ship only to reïnforce his small squadron. Receiving then intelligence of a revolt proposed at Teos, on the Asiatic main, he proceeded thither, and arrived just in time to prevent the immediate effect of a negotiation with Tissaphernes and the revolted cities of Clazomenæ and Erythræ, supported by a body of troops from each. He had however scarcely composed matters, when information reached him that Chalcideus was approaching with his squadron, now increased, by reïnforcement from Chios, to twenty-three triremes. Totally unequal to resist such a force, which would be assisted by coöperation of the combined army, he withdrew hastily to Samos. The Clazomenians and Erythræans were then admitted into Teos, which became a member of the Peloponnesian confederacy; but, the Athenian interest being supposed still prevalent among the lower people, the fortifications on the inland side of the town were demolished. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 15.

Alcibiades had old and hereditary interest in Miletus, and he proposed next to ingage that, the richest and most important of the Asiatic Grecian cities, in revolt against Athens. In thus promoting the Peloponnesian cause, however, it was not possible that he should have the Peloponnesian interest at heart. The success of the operations, which had been carried on under his direction, c. 17.

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had been so rapid, so uninterrupted, so important, and so little expected, that he could not but have great present credit for it. But one powerful party in Lacedæmon was already hostile to him, and the moment his services ceased to be necessary, he would have to apprehend more jealousy than gratitude among the other. Moreover, with the insuing annual change of magistrates there, the ephor his friend would go out of office, and a new commander-in-chief would supersede Chalcideus; whom his friend's interest, and perhaps his own recommendation, had raised to the command, and who seems to have acted in it constantly under his influence. His next measure accordingly seems to show a purpose adverse to the interest of those in whose service he was ingaged. Having, together with Chalcideus, pursued Strombichides as far as Samos, they proceeded to Chios, where they completely changed their crews, putting the Peloponnesians ashore, to act as heavy-armed infantry in the guard of the iland, and taking Chian seamen in their room. The pretended purpose was to give security to the aristocratical party in Chios, against the democratical, who were less satisfied with the late change. But Alcibiades had evidently other views. In persuading the Ionian cities to revolt from Athens, it was his purpose to attach them as much as possible to himself, and as little as possible to Lacedæmon: an Ionian force would be more manageable in his hands than a Peloponnesian; and with an Ionian force he might accomplish what a Peloponnesian would prevent. Ostensibly, however, he was still the most zealous as well as the ablest promoter of the Lacedæmonian interest. Thrasycles, with his squadron of twelve triremes from Attica, had joined Strombichides at

Samos. Apprehensive for Miletus, they hastened their course thither. But Alcibiades was so secret and so rapid in his measures, that, when they anchored off the iland of Ladë, at the mouth of the harbor, he was already received into the city, and his friends were in possession of the government. SECT. II.

A new event in Grecian politics followed; a treaty of alliance between Tissaphernes, in the name of the Persian monarch, and Chalcideus, in that of the Lacedæmonian republic. The terms of this treaty were perfectly accommodated to promote the purposes of Alcibiades, but not at all honorable to Lacedæmon or to Chalcideus. By the first article a most dangerous concession was made to Persia; for it was declared in general terms, 'that all the country and all the cities which 'had belonged to the predecessors of the king, 'should belong to the king.' It was then added, 'that the king, with the Lacedæmonians and their 'allies, should in common prevent the accruing of 'any revenue, and of any advantage whatsoever, 'from those cities to the Athenians; that the 'king, with the Lacedæmonians and their allies, 'should carry on war against the Athenians in 'common; that neither party should make peace 'without the other; that if any subjects of the 'king should revolt, they should be held as ene-'mies by the Lacedæmonians; and that equally if 'any allies of the Lacedæmonians should revolt,' (for by that term the renunciation of alliance with the leading state was described) 'they should be 'held as enemies by the king.' Thucyd. l. 8. c. 18.

SECTION III.

Progress of Revolt against Athens: Exertions of Athens. Siege of Chios. Battle of Miletus. Service of the Peloponnesian Armament to the Satrap of Caria. Spartan Officers, with the Title of Harmost, placed in the Cities of the Confederacy. Dissatisfaction of the Peloponnesians with the Satrap. Operations of the adverse Armaments, and Intrigues among the Asiatic Cities. Change in the Administration of Sparta. Commissioners, sent from Sparta to Ionia, refuse to confirm the Treaty with the Satrap. Revolt of Rhodes to the Peloponnesian Confederacy.

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Ol. 91. 4. 92. 1. B.C.412. P.W. 20.

THE riches of Persia being thus by treaty ingaged to assist the military force of the Peloponnesian confederacy, the power collected against the tottering dominion of Athens might seem more than sufficient to insure its almost instant downfall. But party divisions and constitutional sluggishness prevailed in Lacedæmon, and the opposite interests of different commonwealths impeded every measure of the confederacy; while, the pressure of extreme danger inforcing unanimity in the Athenian councils, such was the energy of the administration, and such still the resources of the commonwealth, that Athens was already again approaching to a superiority at sea.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 19.

Diomedon, conducting from Attica a reïnforcement of sixteen ships to the fleet on the Asiatic station, took four Chian triremes, from which however the crews escaped. The Peloponnesians and their allies meanwhile obtained the more important advantage of ingaging in revolt the towns of Lebedus and Eræ on the continent, and afterward the city of Methymnë in Lesbos, the only one of the iland remaining to Athens. But that wretched system of Grecian policy, which, equally under Lacedæmonian as under Athenian supre-

c. 22.

SECT. III.

macy, kept the higher and the lower people everywhere at perpetual enmity, afforded opportunity for the Athenians, the moment they could show a force at sea, to give a turn, in all maritime cities, in favor of the democratical interest. Diomedon therefore, proceeding to Teos, where the democratical interest was strong, recovered that city to the Athenian alliance. Meanwhile the body of the higher people of Samos, more depressed than all others since their reduction on their former revolt, were proposing to seize the opportunity that seemed to offer, through the prevalence of the Peloponnesian arms, for mending their condition. The lower people, having intelligence of the design, rose upon them, and, with the assistance of the crews of three Athenian triremes then at Samos, overpowered them, put to death two hundred, and driving about four hundred more to seek their personal safety by flight, shared among themselves the property of all. Nothing could insure to Athens the dominion of that valuable iland equally with this measure, at which humanity shudders. But indignation will rise higher at the following conduct of Athens. The massacre and robbery were rewarded by a decree of the Athenian people, granting to the perpetrators the independent administration of the affairs of their iland, which, since the last rebellion, had been kept under the immediate control of the Athenian government.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 21.

While success was thus beginning to shine again upon the Athenians, on the eastern side of the Ægean, they met with an unexpected reverse nearer home. The Peloponnesian ships in the Corinthian Peiræus, to the number of twenty, making a sudden attack upon an Athenian squadron of equal force watching them, gained the

c. 20.

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victory and took four ships. Astyochus was then sent from Lacedæmon to conduct the victorious squadron to Asia, there to assume the command in chief of the fleet.

The exertions of the Athenian government nevertheless continued to be efficacious. Leon, bringing from Attica a fresh reïnforcement of ten ships, proceeded with Diomedon to Lesbos; and, tho Astyochus arrived in time to interfere, yet by their able management, with the coöperation of the democratical party, they recovered the whole of that important iland. They proceeded to Clazomenæ on the continent, and that city also renewed its connection with Athens. Such, in short, had been the energy of the Athenian administration, and such the supineness of the Peloponnesians, that the Athenian fleet in the Asiatic seas could now be divided and yet everywhere superior. The squadron of twenty triremes under Thrasycles and Strombichides had not moved from Ladë, but watched there for an opportunity of advantage. Making a descent on the Milesian lands, they defeated the troops which, under Chalcideus, the Lacedæmonian commander-in-chief, marched out against them, and Chalcideus himself was killed; but their force was insufficient for any attempt against the town of Miletus.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 24.

Naval superiority however being recovered, it was determined to carry on operations against Chios, with a view to the reduction of the iland; and the Chians had the mortification to find, contrary not only to their own expectation but that of all Greece, that their revolt had been determined on without due precaution and just foresight. Till the present conjuncture, the affairs of Chios had long been managed with a steddy prudence, uncommon among the

Grecian cities. Moderate in prosperity, blameless toward their neighbors, and using their increasing wealth and power for no purpose of ambition, but directing their politics meerly to secure the happiness they injoyed, their iland, from the time of the Persian war, had never seen an enemy within its bounds. The Athenians now prepared to attack it on all sides. They occupied the forts of Sidussa and Pteleus, in the Erythræan territory, and the little ilands Œnussæ, between Chios and the main, as naval stations whence to infest the Chian coasts. Debarking troops then in three several places, they defeated at each the forces which opposed them; and with such slaughter that the Chians attempted action in the field no more: giving up the whole of their rich territory for ravage, they shut themselves within their walls. Under such circumstances it was likely that the democratical party would be looking for means of accommodation with the Athenians. The leading men, aware of this, sent information of their apprehensions to Astyochus, who in consequence came from Erythræ with four ships. SECT. III.

It was now toward the end of summer when a fresh and powerful reïnforcement arrived at Samos from Attica; fifteen hundred Athenian heavy-armed, a thousand Argian, and a thousand of the various other allies of Athens, Phrynichus, Onomacles, and Scironidas commanding. From Samos they crossed to the Milesian territory, and landed there. Eight hundred heavy-armed Milesians under Alcibiades, with the Peloponnesians who had been under the orders of Chalcideus, and a force of Asiatic infantry and cavalry, led by the Satrap Tissaphernes in person, proceeded to meet them. Both sides being prepared for battle, the Argians in the Athenian army, holding in contempt the Ionians, advanced B. C. 412. Ol. 92. 1. P. W. 20. After 3 Sept. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 25.

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before their main body hastily and with no good order, as against an enemy who would avoid their onset. But the Milesians, led by Alcibiades, presently routed them, and killed near three hundred. On the other side the Athenians themselves, opposed to the Peloponnesians and Asiatics, attacking the former first, defeated them, and the others immediately fled. Alcibiades, upon this drew off the Milesians; and the Athenians, holding the field of battle, erected their trophy. The event altogether remarkably disappointed common opinion among the Greeks, as well as the superior estimation in which those of Dorian race had been long accustomed to hold themselves; for on each side the Ionian troops were victorious over the Dorian.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 26.

The Athenians elate with their success, proceeded then immediately to take measures for an assault upon Miletus; but, in the evening of the same day on which the battle was fought, intelligence arrived of the approach of a fleet from Peloponnesus, of fifty-five triremes. Onomacles and Scironidas, anxious to restore the naval reputation of Athens, and perhaps too fearful of the temper of the people, their soverein, to use their judgement with due calmness, proposed to await the enemy's attack. But Phrynichus declared that he would neither be allured by a false opinion of glory, nor yield to unmanly shame: whatever his country's welfare most required, was in his opinion most honorable; and in the present state of the commonwealth, it would ill become them to risk unnecessarily its naval force. Either his arguments or his authority prevailed, and the fleet returned to Samos. The Argians, fretted, Thucydides says, with the disgrace of their own share in the late battle, sailed home.

SECT. III.

Peloponnesus had not alone sent out the formidable fleet which thus relieved Miletus. At the instigation principally of Hermocrates son of Hermon, the Dorian Sicilians had generally agreed to take an active part in the war; and Syracuse sent twenty triremes under his command, which had however yet been joined by only two more, furnished by Selinus. The Lacedæmonian Theramenes commanded the fleet in chief. On its reaching the coast of Asia, the Athenian armament being gone, it was to be considered what should be undertaken; and the commanders resolved to gratify their new ally the satrap, by directing their first measures against Iasus, the residence of the rebel Persian chief Amorges. The fleet, in its approach to that place, was mistaken for an Attic fleet: the first assault in consequence succeeded: and Amorges being made prisoner, was a grateful present to Tissaphernes, who was thus inabled to obey his sovereign's commands, which required him to send the rebel, or at least his head, to Susa. Some Greek troops which Amorges had entertained in his service, being mostly Peloponnesian, were taken as a reïnforcement to the army. The other prisoners formed a valuable part of the booty, being made over to Tissaphernes, equally free and slaves, at a certain price a head[5], and the capture all together was among the richest made in the war. Possession of Iasus being made over to the satrap's officers, the Grecian armament returned to Miletus for winter quarters.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 28.

In confederacies composed of so many little republics, claiming independency, as those under the

[5] The price mentioned by the historian is a Doric stater, the value of which, at the time of the Peloponnesian war, is very uncertainly known.

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lead of Athens and Lacedæmon, to insure any just regularity in business, either military or political, would be hardly possible, without powers to be exercised by the superior, hazardous for the liberties of the inferior people. But the internal divisions of every little state, far more than any consideration for the confederacy at large, induced the subordinate governments not only to admit readily, but often to desire the controling interference of the imperial people. The Lacedæmonian government accordingly sent superintending officers of their own, with the title of harmost, regulator, to reside in all the cities of their confederacy, beyond proper Greece. The authority of these officers would depend much upon the power of the superintending state at the time, and the weakness of the subordinate, whether the weakness of scanty numbers and property, or weakness superinduced by internal divisions. The harmost, however, generally seems to have been but another name for a governor. Philippus, a Lacedæmonian, was appointed harmost of Miletus. Pædaritus, sent from Sparta to hold the same office at Chios, could not so readily and safely reach his destination. Landing, however, at Miletus, he was escorted by land to Erythræ, and thence found opportunity to make the short passage to Chios, without interruption from the Athenian cruizers.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 29. After 2d Oct.

Early in the winter Tissaphernes visited the Peloponnesian fleet, and, according to agreement with the Lacedæmonians, distributed a month's pay to it, at the rate of an Attic drachma, about tenpence sterling, daily, for each man. He then apologized for proposing to give in future only half a drachma, till he had consulted the king's pleasure; declaring himself desirous, if he could obtain authority for it,

to continue the full pay before given. Theramenes, having only a temporary command, for the purpose of conducting the fleet to Astyochus, under whose orders it was to remain, was little disposed to exert himself about its pecuniary interests; but the Syracusan Hermocrates remonstrated warmly; and Tissaphernes thought it so far of importance to keep his new allies in good-humor, that he at length made an addition to the half drachma, but would not allow the whole. SECT. III.

In the course of the winter an additional force of thirty-five triremes under Charminus, Strombichides, and Euctemon, joined the Athenian fleet at Samos, which thus acquired again a clear superiority in the Asiatic seas. It was in consequence resolved to push the siege of Chios, and at the same time to blockade the port of Miletus. For the former purpose the greatest part of the landforce was assigned, with a squadron of thirty triremes; for the other, the rest of the fleet, consisting of seventy-four. The commanders drew lots for the services. It fell to Strombichides, Onomacles, and Euctemon, with thirty triremes and a part of the heavy-armed, to act against Chios: the others, with seventy-four, commanded the seas about Samos, and prepared for an expedition against Miletus. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 30.

Meanwhile Astyochus, who had gone to Chios to obviate expected revolt, hearing of the reïnforcement brought by Theramenes from Peloponnesus, but uninformed of the great addition arrived to the enemy's fleet, thought the Peloponnesian interest in the iland sufficiently secure, and crossed to the opposite continent, where opportunity of farther acquisition appeared to invite him. Having however in vain attempted Pteleum and Clazomenæ, he was Thucyd. l. 8. c. 31.

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compelled by tempestuous weather to take refuge in the port of Cuma.

But in all the Grecian towns, through the opposition of interests, and the almost universal attachment of the democratical party to the Athenian cause, and the aristocratical to the Lacedæmonian, intrigues were endless. While Astyochus lay with his fleet at Cuma, the aristocratical party in Lesbos sent proposals for bringing that iland again to the Lacedæmonian alliance. Astyochus favored the measure, but the Corinthians were disinclined to it; and the Chians, more apprehensive of their fellow-citizens of the Athenian party than of any other enemy, were extremely averse to any diminution of the friendly force within their own iland. Pædaritus, the Lacedæmonian governor, concurring with them, refused to let any Chian vessels go on the service. Astyochus, highly displeased with this opposition to his purpose, declared that the Chians should in vain solicit from him that assistance which they might soon want; and with this threat he departed, to assume his naval command at Miletus.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 32.

c. 33.

c. 35. The Peloponnesian cause had continued to gain among the Sicilian and Italian Greeks, and a fresh reïnforcement of ten Thurian triremes, with one Syracusan, had passed to Peloponnesus. The Lacedæmonians, adding one of their own, appointed Hippocrates, a Lacedæmonian, to command the squadron, which they sent to join the fleet at Miletus. Cnidus having lately revolted from Tissaphernes, Hippocrates was sent thither, with orders to watch the town with six of his ships, while the other six took their station at Triopium, a promontory of the iland, for the purpose of intercepting the enemy's merchant-ships from Egypt. Information

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of this disposition being communicated to the Athenian fleet, a squadron was detached, which took the six ships at Triopium, whose crews however escaped ashore.

The loss of six ships to the Peloponnesian confederacy, supported only by its own means, might have been of some consequence, but, with the advantage of the Persian alliance, it was little regarded. Astyochus, on his arrival at Miletus, found the Milesians zealous in the cause, and the armament in high spirits, notwithstanding the reduction of pay, which had occasioned so many murmurs. The pay still given by Tissaphernes was more than the Peloponnesian governments ever had given, or were able to give, and the booty acquired at Iasus was a great gratification. Nevertheless the principal officers could not rest satisfied with the terms of a treaty, which they could so little justify to their people at home, as that made by Chalcideus; and, at length, Tissaphernes was persuaded to allow the objectionable articles to be reconsidered. Theramenes had now the conduct of the business on the part of Lacedæmon, and a new treaty was concluded; in which the sovereinty of the Persian king over the Grecian cities in Asia was rather less explicitly acknowleged, but yet was acknowleged. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 36.

The use at this time, made by the Peloponnesians, of the advantages of Persian pay and Asiatic plunder, seems to have been to indulge themselves in the large and wealthy city of Miletus, under the fine sky of Ionia; while their new allies, the Chians, were pressed with danger of the united evils, which faction within, and an enemy without, might bring. Before the winter ended, the Athenians occupied the port and town of Delphinium, not far from the city. The democratical party among the Chians, in c. 38.

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itself strong, seeing the Athenian fleets again superior in the Asiatic seas, showed its disposition to the Athenian cause so openly, that Pædaritus and the oligarchal party were in great alarm. They applied to Astyochus at Miletus for succor; but, in conformity to his threat, he refused to give any. Pædaritus sent complaints against him to Lacedæmon; but distress and danger meanwhile continued to press the Chians.

When, among the various applications for the Lacedæmonian alliance, the preference had been given to Tissaphernes and the Ionians, it had not been intended, even by Endius and Alcibiades, to slight the overtures of Pharnabazus. Twenty-seven ships were therefore prepared expressly for the service, in which that satrap desired assistance. But, in the beginning of winter, the year of magistracy of Endius had expired, and with it expired, in a great degree, the influence of Alcibiades in the Lacedæmonian administration. A considerable change of counsels insued. The men in command, and the measures pursuing, on the Asiatic coast, were looked upon with a jealous eye. The newly-prepared squadron, placed under the command of Antisthenes, was ordered, not to the Hellespont or any port of the satrapy of Pharnabazus, but to Miletus, to join the fleet already there; and eleven commissioners were imbarked in it, to inquire concerning men and things, and, as a council, to assume in a great degree the direction of affairs on the Asiatic station. They were particularly authorized to appoint, if they should see proper, Antisthenes to supersede Astyochus in the command in chief; and also, at their discretion, to send any number of ships, with Clearchus for the comman-

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 39.

der, or not to send any, to coöperate with Pharnabazus. SECT. III.

Antisthenes, with the eleven commissioners, making Melos, in their way to the Ionian coast, fell in with ten Athenian triremes. They took three, but the crews escaped, and the other seven got clear away. This adventure gave them more alarm than satisfaction. They feared information to the Athenians at Samos, of their approach, and consequent attack from a superior force. Instead therefore of making farther their direct course for Ionia, they bore away southward for Crete, and so on to Caunus in Caria, whence they sent to Miletus intelligence of their arrival.

Meanwhile Astyochus, notwithstanding his anger against the Chians, was preparing to attempt their relief, before it should be too late to save allies so valuable to the confederacy. They were already severely pressed: a contravallation was nearly completed against the city: their lands were totally at the enemy's mercy; and their numerous slaves were deserting fast. Astyochus however, upon receiving the advice from Antisthenes, thought it his first duty to give convoy to the council, and his first interest to take care of the reïnforcement; and he accordingly moved with his whole fleet to Caunus. The Athenian admiral meanwhile had actually sent a squadron under Charminus, but of twenty ships only, to watch the squadron coming from Peloponnesus. Missing this, Charminus fell in with the grand fleet under Astyochus, dispersed in a fog, and took three ships; but, when the fog cleared, the fleet collecting, he found it necessary to fly for Halicarnassus, and reached that place, not without losing six ships. Intelligence of this being carried to the Athenian admirals, they went with their whole force

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 41.

c. 40.

c. 42.

c. 43.

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to offer battle to the Peloponnesians, who had put into the port of Cnidus; but these showing no disposition to stir, the Athenians returned to Samos.

As soon as the Athenian fleet was gone, the eleven commissioners from Sparta began the more peculiar business of their mission, the consideration of the Persian treaty; and Tissaphernes thought the occasion important enough to require his presence at Cnidus. The commissioners, of whom Lichas was the chief, appear to have been friends of Agis; but, whatever party views they may have had, they conducted themselves in this business with a stern dignity, and with the appearance at least of an inflexible integrity, becoming the antient reputation of Sparta. The treaties were certainly very exceptionable. The words of the first, yielding to the king of Persia the sovereinty of all the countries his predecessors had ever commanded; those of the other, forbidding the Lacedæmonians and their allies from carrying arms against any of those countries; were an acknowlegement, on the part of Lacedæmon, of the claim of Persia, not only to all the Asiatic and Thracian cities, and all the ilands of the Ægean, but to Macedonia, Thessaly, Locris, and almost the whole north of Greece, including Attica: so that the Lacedæmonians, instead of supporting their pretensions to be vindicators of Grecian liberty, thus admitted the subjection of near half the nation to the Persian dominion. The Lacedæmonians did not indeed bind themselves to put Persia in possession of the countries so in general terms ceded; and, had their leaders been wily politicians, they might perhaps, after profiting from Persian assistance to serve their own purposes against Athens, have easily prevented Persia from making any advantage of those articles, which seemed so to

militate with the common cause of Greece. But Lichas and his collegues would not, for any temporary interest of their country, surrender its honor. They condemned the treaties, both that concluded by Chalcideus, and that by Theramenes, in the strongest manner; they declared that they would on no account ratify them; and they insisted that the troops should receive no more pay from the satrap, unless he would enter into a new treaty upon other terms. Tissaphernes, disgusted with their authoritative tone and unbending manner, went away without concluding anything. SECT. III.

How far the conduct of the commissioners would be approved by the troops, to whom Persian pay had been no small gratification, may be doubted; but a circumstance occurred of a nature to obviate present dissatisfaction. Overtures came to the Peloponnesian commanders from some leading men of the wealthy iland of Rhodes. The fleet, consisting of ninety-four triremes, went thither; Cameirus, one of the principal towns, but unfortified, was taken without resistance: the chief men of the iland were summoned to an assembly, and all the towns were peaceably brought over to the Peloponnesian interest. Intelligence of the motion of the Peloponnesian fleet being conveyed to the Athenian commanders at Samos, they sailed in all haste for Rhodes, but arrived too late for any effectual interposition. The Peloponnesians obtained thirty-two talents from the Rhodians, toward the expenses of the war, and, the winter being already advanced, they laid up their fleet in the harbors of the iland. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 44. B.C.411. January.

SECTION IV.

Alcibiades, persecuted by the new Spartan Administration; favored by the Satrap of Caria; communicates with the Athenian Armament at Samos. Plot for changing the Constitution of Athens: Synomosies, or political Clubs at Athens: Breach between Alcibiades and the Managers of the Plot. New Treaty between Lacedæmon and Persia. Continuation of the Siege of Chios, and Transactions of the Fleets.

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WHILE an important acquisition was thus made to the Peloponnesian confederacy, intrigue had been prosecuting with no inconsiderable effect, in opposition to it. Since the expiration of the magistracy of Endius, the party of Agis had been gaining strength in Lacedæmon; and not only Alcibiades could no longer lead measures, as before, on the coast of Asia, but his designs became more and more suspected in Peloponnesus. In thwarting Alcibiades, however, the Lacedæmonian administration feared him. What precisely to expect they knew not; but they apprehended some great stroke in politics to their disadvantage; and, according to the concurrent testimony of historians, too unquestionable when Thucydides is in the list, private instructions were sent to Astyochus, to have Alcibiades assassinated. This measure has been attributed by some to the vengeance of Agis: whose bed, it is said, Alcibiades had dishonored, and whose queen is reported to have been so shameless, as to boast of her connection with the greatest and handsomest man of the age. Others have ascribed it to the revenge of the queen herself, for a silly declaration of Alcibiades, if he really made it, that no inclination for her person, but meerly the vanity of giving a king to Sparta and an

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 45.

heir to the race of Hercules, induced him to pay her any attention. The cotemporary historian mentions upon the occasion neither Agis nor the queen: his expression rather goes to fix the crime upon the Spartan administration; and, tho the other stories possibly may have originated in that age, they bear much more the character of the taste of following times. Alcibiades however, whether informed of the design, or only suspicious of the Lacedæmonians, from acquaintance with their principles and consciousness of deserving their enmity, withdrew from their armament and took his residence with Tissaphernes. SECT. IV.

He was not unprepared for the change. Uneasy, notwithstanding the favor he found and the attention paid him, in the dependent character of a stranger and a fugitive, it was his object to restore himself to his country, before that country was reduced so low as to be not worth returning to. With this view he had courted the satrap assiduously and successfully. Neither the interest of the Persian empire, nor the satrap's interest, were, any more than his own, the same with that of Lacedæmon or the Peloponnesian confederacy.

An opening therefore was not wanting, first for insinuations, and then for advice, that might set the satrap at variance with the Peloponnesians, and render Alcibiades not only agreeable but necessary to him. Tissaphernes, pressed for money, both by his court and by the expenses of his government, and at the same time desirous of amassing for himself, listened with ready attention to any suggestion of means to spare his treasury. Alcibiades told him, 'that the allowance of pay to 'the Peloponnesian forces was extravagant. The 'Athenians,' he said, 'long versed in naval affairs,

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'and highly attentive to them, gave no more than 'half a drachma for daily pay to their seamen; not,' as he pretended, 'from economical motives, or 'from any inability to afford more, but because 'they esteemed a larger pay disadvantageous to 'their service.' Tissaphernes approved the proposal for a reduction, but dreaded the discontent that would insue. Alcibiades assured him, 'that 'he need not apprehend it: a sum of money judi-'ciously distributed among the commanders, would 'quiet all outcry; or, if there was a man among 'them not to be bought, it was only the Syracusan 'Hermocrates. Representations and remonstran-'ces would probably be made: but they might 'easily be refuted; nor need the satrap give him-'self any trouble about them; he would undertake 'to answer every argument and silence every cla-'mor. The pretensions indeed of most of the 'Grecian states were extravagant: that of the 'Chians, he would not scruple to tell them, was 'even impudent. The richest people of Greece, 'they were not contented with gaining indepen-'dency at the expence of the blood and treasure of 'others, but expected to be paid for defending it. 'Nor were the less wealthy states, which had been 'tributary to Athens, more reasonable. Delivered 'from the burden of tribute, they now grudged an 'unbought service, to preserve the independency 'and immunity which had been freely given them.' Having thus persuaded the satrap that he could obviate clamor, Alcibiades undertook to conciliate favor to him, and excite zeal in his service: 'He 'would assert,' he said, 'that the pay hitherto 'given was from the private income of the satrapy; 'that Tissaphernes was laboring to obtain an al-'lowance from the royal revenue; and should it

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'be granted, whatever it might be, the whole 'should be distributed to the forces without re- 'serve.' Tissaphernes approved the proposal, and that reduction of pay, which has been already noticed, with the insuing discontent, and at length, through the dexterity of Alcibiades, the compromise followed.

Ch. 19. s. 3. of this Hist.

Having thus gained the satrap's ear, and recommended himself to his confidence, Alcibiades proceeded to promote his own views at the expence of the most important interests of the Peloponnesian confederacy. 'He urged, that both the public in- 'terest of the Persian empire, and the private interest 'of the satrap, required, not speedy nor complete 'success to the Peloponnesian cause, but a protrac- 'tion of the war: that the Phenician squadron, 'which had been promised, ought not to be allowed 'to join the Peloponnesian fleet: that, for the same 'reason, to incourage reïnforcement from Greece, 'by holding out the lure of Persian pay, was im- 'politic: that the king's interest clearly required a 'partition of power among the Greeks: the same 'state should not preponderate by land at the same 'time and by sea; but rather the Athenians should 'be supported in their wonted superiority on one 'element, and the Lacedæmonians on the other. 'Thus it would always be in the king's power to 'hold the balance between them, or to employ one 'against the other, as he pleased. These being the 'principles that should regulate the politics of Per- 'sia toward Greece, it followed that the Athenians 'were the more commodious allies for the king; 'they had no landforce capable of coping with his 'landforce: they were powerful and rich only by 'holding other states in subjection; and, through 'their fear of revolts and of forein interference,

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 46.

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'they might be kept always in some degree dependent. At any rate, they would always be glad to share with the king and his satraps the tributary cities of Asia. But, on the contrary, it was the professed purpose, and the known policy, of the Lacedæmonians, to emancipate all Grecian states from subjection to other Greeks; and they would certainly not rest long, while any remained under a forein dominion. It was therefore the obvious interest of Tissaphernes, after having taken from the Athenians whatever he could readily acquire, to break with the Lacedæmonians and drive them out of Asia.'

The conduct of the Lacedæmonian commissioners, in the congress of Cnidus, contributed not a little to give force to these plausible suggestions; for it went far toward verifying the prediction of Alcibiades, that, when once the Lacedæmonians had obtained a superiority at sea, they would not be contented to leave any Grecian cities subject to Persia. Their disposition having been thus manifested, what followed, on the part of the satrap, was to be expected; the pay to the armament was, not indeed immediately stopped, but irregularly issued; and when the Peloponnesian commanders proposed any exertion with the fleet, Tissaphernes always objected, 'that the Phenician squadron,' which he never intended should arrive, 'ought in prudence to be waited for.' Astyochus, whether through weakness or corruption, appears to have deferred to him upon all occasions; and thus, as the historian remarks, the most powerful fleet ever sent from Peloponnesus, wasted in inaction.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 47.

Alcibiades, having thus far wrought upon the satrap, saw the crisis approaching that might probably inable him, not only to return to his country, but to acquire the glory of restoring his country to

safety, and perhaps even to splendor. The Athenians, in their distress, had been making great and even wonderful exertions; but those very exertions had nearly exhausted them; and it was evident to all the more informed among them, that, tho they might still maintain themselves, and perhaps even prosper, against the meer force of the Peloponnesian confederacy, which they knew could not with its own means support its late exertions at sea, yet against that confederacy, supplied by the wealth of Persia, it would be impossible for them long to hold. Alcibiades, well aware both of the weakness of the commonwealth, and of the opinions and dispositions of the people, knew that nothing would give him so much importance as the notoriety of his favor with Tissaphernes. But tho he had risen by the populace, yet as he had also been condemned to death by the populace, he was unwilling again to trust himself under its unlimited authority; and he thought things so much in his power, that he resolved to require a change of government and the establishment of oligarchy, as the condition upon which he would restore his own services to his country, and at the same time bring to it the advantage, in its present circumstances the inestimable advantage, of the alliance of Tissaphernes.

The ideä appears bold, even to extravagance; but it was in character for Alcibiades, and [the times were singularly favorable. Most of the better sort of people, worn with the capricious tyranny of the multitude, and dreading such other dictators as Cleon and Hyperbolus, desired the change. There were few trierares in the fleet who did not desire it, and with these Alcibiades found ready means to communicate. His overtures excited attention: Theramenes, Eratosthenes, Aristocrates, names which will recur to notice, are mentioned among

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 48. Lys. Or. con. Eratosth.

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those who went from Samos to confer with him; and the assurances he gave that he would ingage Tissaphernes in the Athenian interest, and through him lead the king himself to an alliance with Athens, were very gladly received by the more powerful and richer men, who suffered most from the war, who were most pressed in consequence of the late public misfortunes, and whose property was principally called upon to supply the increased exigencies of an exhausted treasury. The proposal held out to them the prospect, at the same time, of an advantageous conclusion of the war, and of a change of government, favorable both to the power of those who were ambitious of power, and to the ease of those who only desired ease. Immediately therefore on their return to Samos, communicating with their friends, and finding those disposed to the cause numerous and zealous, they settled the form of an oath for all who should be admitted to their councils (a precaution common among the factions of the antient republics) by which they bound themselves to mutual support and protection.

Body and system being thus given to the party, the leaders ventured to declare openly their knowlege, that the king would become the ally of Athens, and furnish money for the expences of the war, provided Alcibiades were restored, and the government changed to an oligarchy. Some alarm and indignation at first arose; but the hope of profiting from Persian pay softened the murmur, and the multitude acquiesced under the ideä of loss of power, when the recompence was to be increase of both security and profit. Phrynichus however, the commander-in-chief, known to be vehemently adverse to Alcibiades, was supposed also zealous in the democratical interest, and the innovators had therefore avoid-

ed communication with him. But their measures could not be intirely concealed from him, and, with such power as he possessed, he warmly opposed them. Calling together the Athenian citizens of the armament, he urged the falsehood or futility of the arguments which had been used to promote the projected change. 'Alcibiades,' he said, (and Thucydides affirms that he said truly,) 'cared no more 'for oligarchy than democracy, or for anything but 'for means of his own restoration to his country and 'to power. Nor was it to believed that the Persian 'king would prefer the Athenian alliance to the Pe-'loponnesian; since the Athenians claimed com-'mand over so many cities within his country, while 'the Peloponnesians, whose naval strength now 'balanced that of Athens, formed no such invidious 'pretension. It was equally vain to suppose the 'promise of oligarchal government would allure 'either the subject-cities which had revolted, or 'those which still remained in obedience. The 'purpose of those cities was, not to be inslaved with 'an oligarchal rather than a democratical constitu-'tion, but, under whatsoever government, to be in-'dependent of forein dominion. Neither was the 'supposition less unfounded, that person and pro-'perty would be more secure under the rule of those 'called the better people; for those better people, 'in the exercise of power, commonly sought their 'own in preference to the public benefit. Nowhere 'indeed were men in public service so liable to op-'pression of every kind, even to capital punishment 'without trial, as where the power of the people, 'the refuge of the innocent, and the moderator of 'the excesses of the great was done away. That 'such was the opinion, the well-founded opinion, 'prevailing in most of the allied states, he well

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'knew; and, for himself, he could not be satisfied 'with any for the measures now proposed, whether 'for the return of Alcibiades, or whatever besides.'

But in a business of this kind, a political and not a military affair, the authority of the commander-in-chief availed little. The associated party, having a decided majority in the army, resolved immediately to send a deputation to Athens, to push their purpose there. Peisander was appointed first of the deputation, and, notwithstanding any opposition from the commander-in-chief, they sailed for Attica.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 49.

c. 50. Tho all thus far had been conducted peaceably, yet Phrynichus stood in the situation of a man who, in a rebellion or civil war, has taken his party. However he might be inclined to sheath the sword, he apprehended his opponents would not; he expected they would prevail at Athens; he feared the consequences to himself, and, to obviate them, he had recourse to a measure extremely hazardous, but still more unjustifiable. Thucydides, on occasion of the retreat from Miletus, gives Phrynichus the character of an able and prudent man. We can hardly give him credit for prudence upon this occasion. He informed the Lacedæmonian commander, Astyochus, of the divisions in the armament under his command. Astyochus, who seems to have been a weak man, went to Magnesia, and communicated both to the satrap and to Alcibiades the intelligence he had received. Alcibiades immediately sent information, to the principal Athenians in Samos, of the treachery of their general; insisting that the punishment which ought to be inflicted for such a crime was death. Phrynichus, in high alarm, and indeed in great peril, wrote again to Astyochus, complaining, 'that due secresy had not been observ-

'ed about what he had before communicated: that 'the danger insuing to himself was most pressing; 'the danger of what he most abhorred and depre-'cated, perishing by the hands of his detested do-'mestic foes: that to avoid this there was nothing 'he was not ready to undertake, even to the betray-'ing of the whole armament under his command to 'destruction.' Nor was this a difficult undertaking, for Samos was without fortifications; and to give means of executing it, he added every necessary description and direction. Astyochus communicated this also to Alcibiades. SECT. IV.

From the dangerous situation in which Phrynichus was thus involved, he extricated himself with singular boldness and dexterity. Having taken his measures so as to know that Astyochus was still betraying him, and that fresh communication was upon the point of arriving from Alcibiades, he called together the army, and told them he had learnt, by private intelligence, the intention of the enemy to attack them. The consideration that Samos was unfortified, and the observation that part of the fleet was stationed without the port, he said, induced them to the measure; and he therefore issued immediate orders for works to be, in all haste, thrown up around the city, and for every other precaution to be used against the expected attack. It had before been intended to fortify Samos; preparations had been made in consequence; and the business, so as to serve the present need, was quickly accomplished. Meanwhile the expected letters arrived from Alcibiades, indicating that the armament was betrayed by its general, and that the enemy were preparing to attack it. The intelligence now only appeared to confirm that communicated by Phrynichus, and to justify his measures; so that the accu- Thucyd. l. 8. c. 52.

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sation accompanying it was wholly ineffectual, being considered meerly as the scheme of a man, enough known to be little scrupulous, to ruin a political enemy.

It was a bold undertaking in which meanwhile Peisander and his collegues were ingaged at Athens; to propose to a soverein people to surrender their power, and submit to be governed by the men of superior birth and wealth, over whom they had so long been accustomed to tyrannize. But apprehension of the prevalence of the Peloponnesian arms, supported by the riches of Persia, and of the dreadful vengeance commonly to be expected in that age from a conquering enemy, lowered their haughtiness, and, instead of power and wealth, made them anxiously look for means of secure existence in humbler freedom. Peisander therefore, incouraged by the visible effect of popular fear, declared his purpose without reserve: he told the assembled people, 'that they might have the assistance of 'the king, and thus be not only delivered from their 'apprehensions, but assured of regaining a decisive 'superiority over their enemies, upon two condi-'tions; the restoration of Alcibiades, and a change 'in the form of government.' Indignant clamor from some, sullen murmurs from others, were excited by this proposal. The particular enemies of Alcibiades were vociferous: and they were supported by the sacred families of the Eumolpids and Ceryces, who urged religion and divine wrath as obstacles to his return. Those who feared no personal ill from the restoration of Alcibiades, were less violent. Peisander bore patiently the reproaches of all; and when opportunity was at length given for him to resume his speech, addressing himself to the most angry, he observed, 'that the Peloponnesians, always more

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 53.

'powerful by land, now equal at sea, and superior 'in the number and strength of their allies, were 'supported in the expences of the war by the wealth 'of Persia;' and he then put the question, 'What 'were the means of the commonwealth to resist such 'a combination, or what the hope to escape impend-'ing destruction?' To this question no answer, or none in any degree satisfactory to the assembly, was or could be given. 'In such circumstances then,' continued Peisander, 'the object for consideration 'must be, not what form of government you would 'prefer, but under what form the commonwealth can 'exist. And here no choice remains: it must be a 'government placed in such hands, armed with such 'authority, that the king may confide in it, so as to 'be induced to become your ally.' To soften the zealous partizans of democracy, he then added, 'Some among you, I know, think this a great evil. 'But can you hesitate to chuse between certain 'ruin, and what will at worst be a passing evil? 'since, when peace and safety are restored, nothing 'can prevent the people from restoring, whenever 'they please, the antient form of government.'

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Thucyd. l. 8. c. 54.

Thus exciting at the same time fear and hope, and indeed proving to the people that they had scarcely another chance for safety, notwithstanding the aversion which had so long obtained among them, almost to an abhorrence, of oligarchy, Peisander prevailed. By a decree of the general assembly, eleven commissioners were appointed, himself the first, to treat with Tissaphernes and Alcibiades; with full power to conclude whatever they should judge expedient for the commonwealth. Orders were then issued for the recall of Phrynichus and his collegue Scironides; in whose room Diomedon

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and Leon were appointed to command the armament.

There were at Athens societies called Synomosies, which bore considerable resemblance to our political clubs; with this difference principally, that as property, liberty, and life itself were incomparably less secure there than under the mild firmness of our mixed government, the interests of individuals, which bound them to those societies, were much more pressing than what commonly lead to any similar establishments among us. The sanction of a solemn oath to their ingagements was therefore always required of the members; whence the societies obtained their name, signifying sworn brotherhoods[6]. The objects proposed were principally two; private security, and political power; and for the sake of one or both of these, most men of rank or substance in Athens were members of some Synomosy. Against the oppression of democratical despotism, which was often, as we shall see more particularly hereafter, very severely exercised against the rich, the collected influence of a body of noble and wealthy citizens might give protection, when

[6] Ξυνωμοσίας, αἵπερ ἐτύγχανον πρόσθεν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔσαι ἐπὶ δίκαις καὶ ἀρχαῖς. Societates & collegia, quæ prius in urbe erant, & quæ judiciis & magistratibus præerant. Vers. Duker.—*Juntos of the accomplices already formed in the city, with the view to thrust themselves into the seats of judicature and the great offices of state.* Smith's Transl. If the word *accomplices*, for which there is no sufficient authority in the original, were omitted, I should prefer the English translation to the Latin, which is indeed clearly bad. The other, however, is far from satisfactory, and I know not that this interesting passage, in which Thucydides speaks of what was familiar in his time, without sufficiently explaining himself for posterity, has been anywhere duly discussed. The explanation which I have ventured to give, is founded on a comparison of that passage with whatever has occurred to my notice, anyway bearing a relation to the subject, in the various authors whom I have had occasion to consult, and in whose authority I have confidence.

the most respectable individual, standing single on his merits, would be overwhelmed: and the same union of influence which could provide security against oppression, with a little increase of force, would dispose of the principal offices of the state. Peisander addressed himself severally to all these societies, and he seems to have had considerable success in persuading them to concur in his measures. Everything being thus prepared, as well as time and circumstances would permit (for very important interests required his presence on the other side of the Ægean) he hastened his departure with his ten collegues. SECT. IV.

Arriving at Samos, they found their cause so prospering that any stay there appeared needless. They proceeded therefore to the Asiatic main, to negotiate with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes; and they were admitted to a conference, at which the satrap attended in person, but which was managed for him by Alcibiades. The conduct of that wily politician, upon this occasion, is not completely accounted for by the cotemporary historian, but the ground of it may be gathered. It could never be his intention to establish at Athens an unbalanced oligarchy; the most adverse of all constitutions, to that supremacy of one person, which he had, like many others before him, injoyed under the democracy, and which it was certainly his purpose to regain. Neither he, nor probably any other, had supposed that the democracy could have been overthrown, and such a government established on its ruin, by so sudden and so quiet a revolution as that managed by Peisander. As he then would be disappointed, so Peisander and his principal associates would be elated; and those terms which he expected to have commanded from the oligarchal and Thucyd. l. 8. c. 56.

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democratical parties balanced, would not be conceded to him by the established oligarchy. Hence apparently it became his purpose now to render the conference abortive, by making demands for the satrap, to which the Athenian commissioners could not consent. Finding them however disposed to yield much, he required the cession of all Ionia, with the adjacent ilands, to the Persian monarch: and, fearing the urgency of their situation would induce them to admit this, he raised new difficulties; a second and third conference was held, and at length he added the requisition, that, along all the coasts of the Athenian dominion, navigation should be free for the king's ships, at all times and in any number. Such a demand convincing the commissioners that Alcibiades meant nothing friendly to them or their party, they broke up the conference in some anger, and returned to Samos.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 57.

Peisander and his collegues were no sooner gone, than Tissaphernes went to Caunus, in Caria, a situation commodious for communicating with the Peloponnesian commanders, with whom he renewed negotiation. He was now in alarm for the consequences of his refusal of pay to their fleet, which, of three disagreeable things, he foresaw would probably produce one: either the Peloponnesians must fight the Athenians, and would be defeated; or their crews would desert, and thus the Athenians, without obligation to him and without risk to themselves, would become decisively superior; or, what he dreaded more than either of these, to supply their pressing necessities they would plunder the territories under his command, and thus weaken the sources of his revenue. In pursuance therefore of his original purpose, to keep

the Greeks balanced against oneanother, he invited the Peloponnesian chiefs to a conference at Miletus, which was not refused ; and having then directed the issue of pay as formerly, a new treaty was quickly concluded, which ran thus : SECT. IV.

'In the thirteenth year of the reign of Darius, 'and in the ephoralty of Alexippidas in Lace-'dæmon, a treaty was concluded, in the plain of 'the Mæander, between the Lacedæmonians and 'their allies on one part, and Tissaphernes and 'Hieramenes and the sons of Pharnaces on the 'other part, concerning the affairs of the king and 'those of the Lacedæmonians and their allies.

'Whatever the king possesses in Asia shall be 'the king's, and the king shall direct the affairs 'of his own country according to his will and 'pleasure. The Lacedæmonians and their allies 'shall not injure any place within the king's do-'minion ; and if any among the Lacedæmonians 'or their allies shall attempt such injury, the 'Lacedæmonians and their allies in common shall 'prevent it. So also if any of the king's subjects 'shall attempt any injury to the Lacedæmonians 'or their allies, the king shall prevent it.

'Tissaphernes shall continue to pay the fleet 'in the manner heretofore agreed, until the king's 'fleet shall arrive. After that it shall be at the 'option of the Lacedæmonians and their allies to 'pay their own fleet, or to receive the pay still 'from Tissaphernes, upon condition of repaying 'him when the war shall be concluded. The 'fleets, when combined, shall carry on operations 'under the joint direction of Tissaphernes, and of 'the Lacedæmonians and their allies.

'No treaty shall be entered into with the Athe-'nians but by mutual consent of the contracting 'parties.'

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Thus the alliance of Lacedæmon with Persia, or at least with the satrap, was apparently confirmed.

B.C. 411. End of Jan. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 55.

During these negotiations, Leon and Diomedon, having taken the command of the Athenian armament from Phrynichus and Scironides, had moved to Rhodes, with intention to offer battle; but on their arrival they found the Peloponnesian fleet laid up for the winter. After gratifying their crews therefore, with some revenge against the Rhodians and some profit to themselves, by ravage of a part of the iland, they took their station at the neighboring iland of Cos, to watch the enemy's motions.

c. 61.

While the Peloponnesians were thus inactive, their allies of Chios were reduced nearly to extremity. In an unsuccessful sally, Pædaritus, the Lacedæmonian harmost of Chios, had been killed; the blockade was completed, and famine began to press the inhabitants and garrison. In this situation of things opportunity was found to send an officer to Rhodes, who urged to the Peloponnesian commanders there, that, as the city was effectually blockaded, its distress was become pressing, and nothing less than strong effort with the whole fleet could save it.

Twelve triremes had been left as guardships at Miletus, four of which were Syracusan, five Thurian, and only one Lacedæmonian; but the Lacedæmonian commander, Leon, was a man of enterprize. While Astyochus hesitated, Leon, taking advantage of the absence of the Athenian fleet from the neighborhood, conducted his squadron to Chios. The Chians, informed of his approach, manned twenty-four triremes and went

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out to meet him, while their infantry made a diversion by an attack upon the Athenian works. Thirty-two Athenian ships had been left as a guard upon Chios. With these an obstinate action insued, in which the Chians were so far successful as to conduct the twelve Peloponnesian ships into their harbor, and Leon was received as the person charged with the care of the interests, and with the administration of the authority, of the Lacedæmonian state, in the room of Pædaritus.

The reïnforcement thus acquired was important: it inabled the Chians to obtain some supplies by sea; and occurrences soon after afforded farther opportunity. The renewal of connection with the satrap of Caria did not prevent the Peloponnesians from prosecuting their purpose of extending their alliance to Pharnabazus satrap of the Hellespont. Early in spring, the twenty-first of the war, Dercylidas, a Spartan, was sent to him. He went by land, with only a small escort; yet, on his arrival before Abydus, the efficacy of the Spartan name sufficed to induce that city immediately to revolt from the Athenians; and, two days after, Lampsacus followed the example. Strombichides, who commanded the Athenian squadron at Chios, being informed of these circumstances, hastened to the Hellespont with twenty-four triremes. The sea was thus left open for the Chians to receive any relief.

B.C. 411. Ol. 92. 1. P. W. 21. Mar. 28. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 62.

End of April.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 63.

The cautious Astyochus, receiving intelligence that a strong squadron of the enemy was thus called far from the Ionian coast, thought the opportunity favorable for seeking an action with their principal fleet. Upon his moving from Rhodes, Leon and Diomedon quitted Cos, and resumed their station at Samos. Astyochus led his fleet first to Chios,

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and strengthening himself with the whole naval force there, went to Samos, and offered battle. The Athenians, however, would not stir; and indeed their affairs were in a state, both at Samos and at home, that might have afforded to a more able and active commander than Astyochus, other advantage than that from which he had proposed to profit.

SECTION V.

Progress of the Plot for a Revolution at Athens: Violences of the Oligarchal Party: Proposed new Form of Government: Establishment of the new Council of Administration: Negotiation of the new Government for Peace with Lacedæmon.

B.C. 411. February. Thucyd. ut sup.

PEISANDER and his collegues, returning to Samos from their unsuccessful negotiation with Tissaphernes and Alcibiades, had the gratification to find, not only that their cause had been gaining in the army, but that the oligarchal party among the Samians themselves were both disposed and able to effect a change in the government of their iland. Thus incouraged they determined to pay no more attention to Alcibiades, but, in prosecuting their original purpose of a change in the Athenian constitution, to rely upon their own strength for the conduct, both of the domestic affairs of the commonwealth, and of the business of the war. A large subscription was raised by the party, for supporting measures upon which now depended, not only their interest, but their personal safety.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 64.

Having established this groundwork for future proceedings, it was then determined that Peisander, with five of the other commissioners should return to Athens to manage the concerns of the party there,

and that the other five should go through the allied and subject-states, and endevor to bring all under an oligarchal form of government. Diotrephes was appointed to the superintendency of the affairs of Thrace. In his way thither he stopped at Thasus, and succeeded in at once abolishing the sovereinty of the people there. The consequence, however, was not what Peisander and his collegues intended. Some principal Thasians of the oligarchal party, who had been banished by the Athenians, had taken refuge with the Peloponnesian armament on the Asiatic coast. They maintained a correspondence with their friends remaining in the iland, and had been importunately urging revolt. Diotrephes did for them the most difficult part of their business, much better than they could have done it for themselves. Oligarchy being established, the Thasians in possession made no longer any difficulty of preferring the Lacedæmonian to the Athenian connection; the exiles were restored, and Thasus became a member of the Peloponnesian confederacy. Meanwhile Peisander and the five who accompanied him, wherever they touched in their way to Athens, seem to have found as little difficulty in effecting the change of government they desired, as Diotrephes at Thasus: but the consequence in most of the towns (so Thucydides says, without naming them) was the same; they revolted to Lacedæmon.

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Thucyd. l. 8. c. 65.

c. 64.

By this very circumstance, what otherwise might appear a phenomenon, is explained; how a few citizens of Athens, with self-assumed authority, could almost instantaneously overturn the constitutions of so many Grecian republics. Democracy having long principally depended, throughout Greece, upon the patronage of Athens, when the Athenian democracy was overthrown and oligarchy substi-

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tuted, immediately the prevalence of the oligarchal or aristocratical party was prepared. But the means by which the oligarchal party at Athens had advanced far in its purpose, do no honor either to the Athenian government or the Athenian character. Assassination was largely used; and it seems to have been chiefly managed by youths of the best families. Androcles, a man of mean origin, whose influence among the lower people had contributed much to the condemnation of Alcibiades, and who had ever since been the most forward champion of democracy, was among the first taken off. Others, of the most obnoxious to the friends of Alcibiades and of oligarchy, shared the same fate; for, at Athens, the causes of Alcibiades and of oligarchy were not yet distinguished. Inquiry concerning these murders was smothered or deterred, and the friends of democracy became afraid to show themselves.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 66.

c. 65. The oligarchal party thus finding themselves strong, ventured to declare openly the kind of change which they proposed to make in the constitution; in which some consideration was had for established prejudices, as well as for an appearance of public virtue. There was to be still an assembly of the people, but in some degree select: it was to be confined to a body of five thousand, to be chosen among those most qualified by property and personal ability to serve the commonwealth: and public pay was to be allowed to none but those

c. 66. actually serving in the fleet or army. This, says the cotemporary historian, was something specious and alluring; being not only congenial to the spirit of the antient constitution, but even to modern practice; since so large a number as five thousand citizens scarcely ever met in one assembly; and at the same time it held out to everyone the hope

that, if he would concur in the measures proposed, he might be a member of the soverein body. SECT. V.

Meanwhile the general assemblies were regularly held according to antient form, and the council of Fivehundred retained its functions. But assassination was continued; and with so little reserve, and such impossibility of obtaining justice against the perpetrators, that political opposition was deterred. None spoke, either in the assembly or council, but those of the party, and they not without previous communication with the chiefs. The friends of democracy, without equal union among themselves, ignorant of the numbers of the oligarchal party, and supposing them much greater than they really were, scarcely dared complain of enormities practised; every one thinking himself fortunate if, with the utmost caution to avoid offending, he avoided suffering. To this depression of the democratical party nothing so much contributed as the treachery among its reputed friends; for, some of those farthest from previous suspicion having joined the oligarchal party, no one knew any longer in whom he might confide. Thus assassinations continued to pass without inquiry; and, even where proof could be obtained against the perpetrator, nobody ventured to prosecute.

Already things were in this situation when Peisander returned to Athens. Before his departure, a decree had been made, declaring, in general terms, that the government should be changed: it remained yet to be decided how. An assembly of the people was convened to determine that important question. The oligarchal party had such a superiority, that they might propose, with a certainty of carrying, in the moment, almost anything: but it was not what might be in the moment carried in Thucyd. l. 8. c. 67.

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the assembly at Athens, that would decide the future constitution of the commonwealth, or their own future fate. Not only turns in the popular mind must be provided against, but great consideration must be had for that large portion of the commonwealth, serving in the armament, on the other side of the Ægean. It was therefore moved, that the consideration of the business should be referred to a committee of ten men, who should make their report on an appointed day; and a decree passed to that effect.

The day being come, the people were summoned to assemble on the hill of Colonus, a little more than a mile from the city. The ten then came forward with the simple proposal of a law, whose aim was nothing more than to obviate illegality in the future measures of the party. It stated, that every Athenian should be free to declare any opinion, in the assembly, upon political topics; and it inflicted heavy penalties upon those who should endevor to abridge this liberty, whether by legal prosecution, according to the antient law, or in any other manner. This being carried, and what before would have been treason thus made legal, some of the party declared their opinion, that the form of the administration of the commonwealth ought to be changed, and that pay and remuneration should no more be issued from the treasury, for any but those employed for the commonwealth on forein service. This also being patiently heard, Peisander then ventured to propose the form of government to be established: 'That five presidents 'should be chosen by the people; that these 'should elect a hundred, and that each of the hun-'dred should elect three: that the council of Four-'hundred thus formed, should be vested with full

'power to direct the executive government[7]: that 'the supreme authority in last resort should reside 'in a body of five thousand citizens, to be assembled at the discretion of the council[8].' SECT. V.

In this manner it was endevored, by the ablest politician, in the judgement of Thucydides, at that time in Greece, to remedy the evils of the Athenian democracy: for Peisander, tho himself able, was but an instrument in the hands of Antiphon; a man, says the historian, in virtue inferior to no Athenian of his age, and in abilities, whether for the closet or the assembly, superior to all. This very superiority exciting jealousy among the people, had prevented the exertion of his talents for the public benefit; a circumstance not uncommon among the antient democracies, and which probably contributed to inhance the aversion of Antiphon to that form of government: but in any private cause, whether in the inferior courts of judicature, or before the assembled people, no man was equally capable of serving his friends, either by his advice or by his eloquence. The second place among the opponents of democracy seems to have been held by Theramenes son of Agnon; a man also of superior powers, both of thought and elocution, and moreover of considerable military experience. But, beside those originally of the oligarchal party, there were some eminent men who had passed over to it from the democratical; and, of these, Phrynichus, the late commander on the Asiatic coast, was the chief. Of a fearless temper, but an unprincipled Thucyd. l. 8. c. 68.

[7] Ἀρχειν ὅση ἂν ἄριστα γιγνώσκωσιν αὐτοκράτορας.—Thucyd. l. 8. c. 67.

[8] The distinction of the legislative and executive powers appears in some degree implied, but is not expressed by the historian; nor indeed does it seem to have been fully and clearly conceived by any of the antient politicians.

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the commonwealth, through a law made, with all due form, by the assembly of the people, which before held that power. In the general conduct of the business, we see something very different from the tumultuous revolutions so numerous among the inferior Grecian republics. Nowhere else, in the accounts remaining to us, can we discover such a regard for all the forms of an established constitution; yet, even in this revolution at Athens, we find strong relics of barbarism, I must risk the expression, and very defective notions of policy. None of those public massacres took place, which were so usual in Grecian revolutions: public executions, with the pretence of law or popular judgement, were also avoided: some persons were imprisoned, some banished; and, were this all, the duty of the ruling powers to preserve public tranquillity perhaps might have justified it: but many, in the apprehension of being obnoxious, sought their safety by flight; for the horrid and base practice of secret assassination was continued, against those whom the prevailing party supposed most adverse and most formidable.

Of the many actually living in banishment, under condemnation from the assembled people, or the popular tribunals, some the leaders of the revolution would gladly have restored; and probably they would have refused the favor to few, so that, among the number, the historian Thucydides might have returned to his country. But the restoration of Alcibiades, tho he had been the first mover of the revolution, was looked to by most of the party with no friendly eye. Some, as Phrynichus, were essentially interested in his exclusion; and all would be jealous of the talents,

the fame, the popularity, of one who had so long been the active and successful opponent of the oligarchal interest. Confident that they no longer needed his assistance, they were no longer willing to admit that superiority, which must have been yielded to him; and therefore, to obviate opportunity for any measures in his favor, making a merit of supporting the decrees and judgements of the people, they resolved that none should be restored who had been banished by the people. SECT. V.

In other points they did not preserve the same respect for the decrees of the people, or the forms of the antient constitution, or even for their own declarations concerning the new one. The appointment of a supreme assembly of five thousand had been held out only as a lure, to ingage readier acquiescence under the other changes; for such a body would have been perhaps even more difficult to manage, by the Few, who proposed to hold all power in their own hands, than the assembly open to every citizen. But they declared, and they found no small advantage in so doing, not only that the supreme power in last resort was to be vested in such a select, yet numerous body of citizens, but that the selection, though not published, was already made; for thus they kept every man in hopes for himself, and in fear of his neighbor. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 92.

The party, being thus completely masters within the city, turned their attention to things without. It was a most important object for them to make peace with Lacedæmon, and they had warm hope of success. Accordingly they sent to Agis, then in Deceleia, representing to him, that he would no longer have a fickle, faithless and arrogant multitude to deal with, but a government more resembling After 27 Feb.

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that of Sparta, and which might deserve his confidence. But Agis, considering the probable ferment of men's minds immediately after such a revolution, thought he might possibly find means to command terms instead of treating for them. Declining therefore any negotiation, he sent for a large force from Peloponnesus, with which, added to his troops in Deceleia, he marched to the walls of Athens. The Athenian people, he concluded, would not yet be disposed to pay regular and quiet obedience to their new leaders: the sudden appearance of a hostile army would excite alarm; difference of opinion would probably arise; contention would follow, and perhaps mutiny; and, in the confusion, possibly a well-timed assault might carry the city.

Thucyd. l. 7. c. 78.

The event justifies the character of ability, which Thucydides gives to the leaders of the oligarchal party in Athens. Nothing happened of what Agis expected. The whole of the Athenian cavalry went out of the city, in good order, accompanied by some light-armed and bowmen, with a body of heavy-armed following to support them. The Peloponnesian army had not a force of cavalry equal to oppose the Athenian. A detachment, advancing very near the walls, was attacked and overpowered, and the Athenians carried off the dead. Agis finding himself thus disappointed, prudently withdrew to Deceleia, and sent back the troops lately arrived from Peloponnesus. The Athenian ministry were thus incouraged to try again a negotiation, and, fresh overtures to Agis being now favorably received, they made no delay in sending ministers to Lacedæmon.

End of March.

SECTION VI.

Opposition of the Fleet and Army at Samos to the new Government of Athens: Thrasybulus. Dissatisfaction of the Peloponnesian Armament with its General. Assistance sent from the Peloponnesian Armament to Pharnabazus Satrap of the Hellespont. The Restoration of Alcibiades decreed by the Athenian Armament: Alcibiades elected General by the Armament. Fresh Discontent of the Peloponnesian Armament: Astyochus succeeded in the command by Mindarus. Commissioners from the new Government of Athens to the Armament at Samos: Able and beneficial Conduct of Alcibiades.

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B.C.411. P. W. 21. March. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 73.

Thus successful in their administration at home, and in train to put an end to war within Greece, difficulties were arising for the oligarchal leaders, which no wisdom on their part probably could have prevented. Peisander, before he left Samos, had exerted himself among the people of that iland, so far as to persuade many of the democratical party to join the oligarchal; and a society was formed of three hundred friends of oligarchy, who, according to usual practice, bound themselves to oneanother by solemn oaths to support their common measures. Peisander thought the oligarchal interest thus secure among the Samian people, as he hoped it was in the armament. But, after his departure, tumults arose among the Samians: the Athenians of course interfered; and, Charminus, one of the generals, was, with some others, unfortunately killed. In these contests the oligarchal party had the advantage; they depended upon support from the Athenians, among whom they supposed the oligarchal to be now the prevailing interest; and they were proceeding to take farther measures against the supporters of democracy.

But there had always been, among the patrons of democracy, at Athens, some of the first families of

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the commonwealth: for of these there were always some who could more readily rise to power through the democratical than the oligarchal interest; and indeed some were considered in a manner hereditary chiefs of the democratical cause. The present generals, Leon and Diomedon, connected as they were with the leaders of the oligarchal party, yet having themselves great interest among the people, were averse to the proposed change of government; and, the democratical Samians soliciting their protection against the oppression of the oligarchal, they readily gave it.

Leon and Diomedon, however, appear to have been moderate in party, and not men of commanding characters. There were two younger officers, of inferior rank, Thrasybulus son of Lycus, captain of a trireme, and Thrasyllus, an officer of the heavy-armed, who, by their reputation for ability, courage, activity and integrity, were of principal consideration. These were zealous in the democratical cause: they instigated the generals, by whom they were well received; they were sedulous in argument and persuasion among the soldiers and seamen, by whom they were beloved and respected; and thus, while the revolution took place at Athens in favor of oligarchy, the preponderance of the democratical cause was restored in the armament at Samos. The democratical Samians then, obtaining support from the Athenians, prevailed against their opponents. Thirty of the society of three hundred were put to death: three were banished; and the rest, with a humanity not common in Greek sedition, on submitting to democracy, received a free pardon[10].

[10] The phrase of Thucydides, singularly concise and singularly expressive, is scarcely to be translated: Τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις οὐ μνησικακοῦντες, δημοκρατούμενοι τολοιπὸν ξυνεπολίτευον.

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The revolution at Athens being unknown yet at Samos, Chæreas son of Archestratus, a man of eminence in the Athenian armament, was dispatched in the herald-ship Paralus to report these transactions; not without expectation that he would be the messenger of grateful news to the ruling powers. Information of the extraordinary change that had taken place meeting him on his arrival, he instantly secreted himself; and the event justified the suspicion which directed that conduct. Two or three of his officers were thrown into prison: his crew were moved into an ordinary trireme on the Eubœan station; and the sacred ship was committed to persons more devoted to the ruling party. Chæreas, waiting only to acquire information, in his concealment, of the circumstances of the revolution, returned in haste to Samos, and reported there, with the usual, or even more than usual exaggeration of party-spirit, the violences of those who held the powers of government at home. Regardless of truth, he dwelt upon whatever would be likely most to irritate the passions of those serving in the armament. A few assassinations, if we may judge from the omission of all mention of them upon this occasion by the historian, seem not to have been considered as what would make much impression: the sufferers were probably little connected with the armament, or little esteemed in it: but 'that the 'Fourhundred inflicted stripes without reserve; 'that despotic restriction was put upon discourse; 'that complaint was held criminal, and that it was 'dangerous to open the lip against the ruling pow-'ers; that even the wives and children of those on 'forein service were not secure from insult; that it 'was proposed to confine, as hostages, the nearest 'friends of all those in the armament at Samos, who

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 74.

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'were supposed friends of democracy:' these were the topics on which Chæreas principally insisted.

Such information, from a man of rank, just arrived from Athens, when the armament was already in a ferment, raised an instant flame. In the first moment of alarm and passion, the zealots for democracy were going to turn their swords against those of their comrades who had shown a disposition to favor oligarchy; and nothing prevented so rash a measure, but the consideration, warmly urged by some of the more prudent among them, that the Peloponnesian armament was near enough to take advantage of such a circumstance, for the destruction of both parties.

Bloodshed being thus prevented, and the commanders-in-chief, as far as appears, passive, Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus took the lead: for it was not now a military business, but the civil interest of the commonwealth, which it behooved the armament, a large and almost a preponderant portion of the commonwealth, to take into consideration. The first measure was to require an oath from all, with particular attention to those supposed to favor oligarchy, binding them, in the most solemn manner, to support democracy, to persevere in the war against the Peloponnesians, to maintain concord among themselves, to hold the Fourhundred for enemies, and to admit no treaty with them. This oath, having been universally taken by the Athenians, was tendered to the Samians, who also took it universally. Henceforward the Samians were admitted to all councils, as men ingaged in the same cause with the Athenians, and bound by the same interest, whose assistance was necessary to their welfare, and whose welfare depended upon their success.

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Matters being thus far settled, the armament would no longer consider the commonwealth as existing at Athens, but took upon themselves to be the commonwealth. The generals Leon and Diomedon, notwithstanding the degree of concurrence they had thus far given, were esteemed not sufficiently zealous in the cause. As the general assembly of Athenian citizens, therefore, the armament assumed authority to depose them, together with every commander of a trireme whom they thought adverse to democracy; and Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus were, by the same authority, raised to the command-in-chief. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 76.

These measures, in fact declaring a civil war, put equally the armament and the city, both watched by a forein enemy already too powerful, in a most perilous situation. The armament, however, says the historian, comforted themselves with the considerations, that they were the strength of the commonwealth; that the oligarchal party, tho in possession of the city were comparatively weak: that, the whole fleet being theirs, the subject-states must also be theirs, together with the revenue thence arising; the collection of which they possessed means to inforce, which the oligarchal party were totally without: that, even for subsistence, those who held Athens were more dependent upon them than they upon those who were masters of Athens; for not only they could more command the sea, but they could even more command the entrance of the harbor of Peiræus. With regard to a home, Samos, a fine iland with a considerable city, was no contemptible home. Such then being their means, not only of subsistence and security, but even of wealth and power, it was little to be doubted but Alcibiades, ill-treated as he had been

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by the oligarchal party, would gladly join his interest with theirs; and thus, the king of Persia becoming their ally, there was no kind or degree of success which they might not reasonably hope. But should they finally be deceived, in any or in all their views against their domestic enemies, still while such a fleet was theirs, retreats would not be wanting, where they might find, not only lands of which to possess themselves, but also cities in which to settle.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 72.

The oligarchal party at Athens had always been apprehensive that the nautic multitude, as Thucydides calls them, would not readily acquiesce under

B.C. 411. Soon after 27 Feb.

the change of government. Immediately therefore after the appointment of the council of Fourhundred, ten commissioners had been dispatched for Samos, with instructions, in giving information of the change, to apologize, soothe and persuade.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 77.

The commissioners, however, meeting intelligence at Delos of the violent measures of the democratical party in the armament, the deposition of the generals, and the appointment of Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus to the command, feared to proceed.

c. 78.

Fortunately for Athens at this time, there was neither able conduct at the head of the Peloponnesian armament, nor union among the members.

Beginning of March. Ann. Thu. but rather beginning of April.

Discontent grew so as to threaten mutiny or defection; and in this the Syracusans took the lead. 'It 'was evident,' they said, 'that the satrap meant no 'good to their cause. Not only the pay which he 'had ingaged to furnish was reduced, but the re- 'duced pay was irregularly and deficiently issued. 'Under pretence of waiting for the Phenician fleet, 'which he did not intend should ever join them, 'he had prevented action with the enemy when 'weak in numbers. He now continued to prevent

'it, when they were perhaps yet weaker through 'sedition; and their own commander-in-chief, 'either overreached or bought, yielded to him in 'everything.'

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Urged by fear of sedition among his own people, while he was invited by intelligence of sedition among the Athenians, Astyochus determined to lead the fleet against the enemy. But, when he arrived off Samos, things were already composed in the Athenian armament under Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, who were equal to their new command. All was order and vigilance within the harbor: an express was sent to the Hellespont, to require the return of Strombichides, who arrived quickly; and then the Athenian fleet, consisting of a hundred and eight triremes, moved toward the Peloponnesians, who declined the offered battle, and retired into the port of Miletus.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 79.

Such, after all the great loss in Sicily, and with faction so raging as to render it doubtful where the government existed, was still the naval power of Athens; while the Peloponnesians were so far from being able, with their own strength, to support the contest in naval war, that a diminution only of pecuniary assistance from Persia, reduced them immediately to distress. But while Persian policy was successfully employed in fomenting the divisions of Greece, the weakness of the Persian government, and the militating interests of its officers commanding provinces, afforded the Greeks reciprocal advantages. Pharnabazus proposed to profit from the growing dissatisfaction of the Peloponnesians with Tissaphernes. He sent to inform them, 'that if they would bring their fleet to the Helles-'pont, and connect their interests with his, he 'would furnish faithfully and regularly that pay and

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'those supplies, which Tissaphernes was evidently 'no longer disposed to give.' At the same time there arrived from the Byzantines a proposal to revolt, if support could be obtained from the Peloponnesian fleet. These overtures were deemed by the Peloponnesian commanders to require immediate attention. But to make their way to the Hellespont, they must probably fight the Athenian fleet, which the commander-in-chief desired to avoid.

April. Forty ships therefore were sent under Clearchus son of Ramphias, with direction to take a circuitous course through the open sea, that he might escape observation from the Athenian scouts. His passage was interrupted by a storm. Ten of his triremes only, under Helixus the Megarian commander, made their way good to the Hellespont; the rest, being dispersed, sought again the port of Miletus, which they were fortunate enough to reach. Clearchus prosecuted his journey by land to take the Hellespontine command, and on his arrival he found Byzantium, through the exertions of Helixus, in concert with the Peloponnesian party there, already a member of the Peloponnesian confederacy.

With this disposition among the dependencies of Athens to revolt, Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus were aware that they had undertaken what, with their own strength, they should scarcely be able to bring to a good conclusion. Whether they had previously held any intelligence with Alcibiades, is not said by the historian, but appears probable. An assembly of the Athenian citizens of the armament was summoned, as if the legal general assembly of the commonwealth. Thrasybulus undertook to explain the advantages to be expected from the restoration of Alcibiades: the assembly assent-

ed; and a resolution, in the form of a decree of the Athenian people, declared him restored to the privileges of an Athenian citizen, and no longer liable, for any passed transaction, to either punishment or trial. SECT. VI.

This being carried, Thrasybulus, whose measure principally it was, went himself to communicate information of it to Alcibiades, then residing with Tissaphernes. They returned together to Samos: the assembly was again convened, and Alcibiades spoke. After shortly lamenting the calamity of his exile, the injury that had insued to his country, and the misery to himself, he adverted to present circumstances, and dwelt largely on the fair prospect that appeared of future prosperity to Athens, through the benefits which his restoration would bring. 'Nothing,' he said, 'was wanting to in-'duce the satrap to take an active part in their 'favor, but sufficient assurance of steddiness in 'the government, and due adherence to ingage-'ments made. Nor was it any secret what he 'would require; for he had repeatedly declared, 'that he would freely treat with Alcibiades, were 'the affairs of the commonwealth again committed 'to him. In that case, not only his revenue should 'supply the wants of Athens, but the Phenician 'fleet, now at Aspendus, instead of reïnforcing 'the Peloponnesian, should join the Athenian 'against the Peloponnesians.' The assembly were ready to believe what they wished to be true, and the speech of Alcibiades made such impression, that he was upon the spot elected general: those before appointed were continued as his collegues; but the chief direction of affairs, with the approbation apparently of Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, passed immediately into his hands. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 82.

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Things being so far settled, immoderate joy and thoughtless confidence pervaded the armament. Already they held the Peloponnesians in contempt. Revenge against the Fourhundred was their favorite object; they considered the means as in their hands, and they would sail directly to Peiræus. Alcibiades however had influence, and he did not want prudence, to check the rash design. 'The nearer enemy,' he said, 'must not be 'so left, to act unopposed against the most valuable 'possessions of the commonwealth. With regard 'to himself, moreover, it would be utterly improper 'to run to distant enterprize, without going first to 'communicate personally with the satrap. Their 'interest required that he should show himself in 'the rank in which they had placed him; and, 'armed with the importance which that rank gave, 'consult concerning the arrangements to be made.' They yielded to these arguments; the assembly was dismissed, and he set off immediately: anxious, says the historian, to show Tissaphernes his power among the Athenians, as to impress the Athenians with an opinion of his influence with Tissaphernes; and, as he could now be, to both, either a valuable friend or a formidable foe, he awed the Athenians with the name of Tissaphernes, and Tissaphernes with that of the Athenians.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 83.

Intelligence of these transactions in Samos, being conveyed to the Peloponnesian armament at Miletus, occasioned a violent ferment there. The irregularity and deficiency of the issues of pay, before complained of, had increased since the appearance of the Athenian fleet on the coast, and the refusal of battle by the Lacedæmonian commander. Alcibiades, lately their counsellor, and still the man of most influence with the satrap, was now become

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commander-in-chief of the enemy. Not only the soldiers and sailors, but the principal officers, openly accused Astyochus of compliance adverse to their interests and that of their country. Weak and mean, they declared, they had always thought it, but they now pronounced it treacherous; and unless a successful battle was fought, or new measures were taken to procure supplies, the crews, they said, would, and indeed must desert, to find subsistence.

The Sicilian force was now no longer guided by the wisdom, the energy, and the influence of Hermocrates, who, in consequence of a change in the Syracusan administration, had been superseded in his command. While then the rest of the armament canvassed matters among themselves, the Syracusan and Thurian seamen, with the licentiousness and arrogance nourished under a democratical government, and either allowed, or not duly controlled, by a democratical commander, went in a body to Astyochus, and, in a tumultuous manner, demanded the pay due to them. Astyochus, who appears to have had no talent for holding authority, reproved them with Spartan haughtiness; and not only threatened Dorieus, the Thurian commander[11]

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 84.

[11] The scholiast, hastily and carelessly, considering Dorieus as a gentilitious name, interprets it to mean Hermocrates. In recollecting that the Syracusans were a Dorian people, he seems to have forgotten that the Lacedæmonians were so. A Spartan general would scarcely distinguish a Syracusan as *the* Dorian, by way of eminence. In a preceding passage (c. 35. l. 8.) Thucydides particularizes Dorieus son of Diagoras as the commander of the Thurian squadron in the Peloponnesian fleet. Within a few following sentences he mentions Hermocrates as already superseded by an order from Syracuse, and adds circumstances hardly allowing the supposition that he had at all incouraged the offensive conduct of the Sicilians. It may be observed farther that Dorieus son of Diagoras, apparently the same man spoken of by Thucydides, is mentioned

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(who, improperly enough, accompanied his people, and even spoke for them) but lifted his stick as if to strike him. It is from Thucydides that we have this testimony to the rough manners of a Spartan general; to which the democratical Thurians made the rough return that might be expected. With a nautic shout they rushed forward to protect and revenge their commanding officer. Fortunately for Astyochus, an altar was near, and he fled to it: the rioters respected the sanctuary, and presently dispersed.

This was not the only wound which the Lacedæmonian command suffered. Tissaphernes had taken a strong measure to secure his authority in Miletus; he had built a fort within the walls of the city, and placed a garrison there. In the necessity of the Milesians, on first revolting from Athens, to procure protection, on any terms, against Athenian vengeance, it does not appear that this had occasioned any opposition or complaint. But, when they thought themselves established members of the Peloponnesian confederacy, they began to consider such a badge of forein servitude with uneasiness; and at length, the spreding discontent against Tissaphernes incouraging, they entered the fort by surprize, with a superior armed force, and compelled the garrison to withdraw. The Lacedæmonian commissioner, Lichas, condemned this violence. Apparently he and his collegues had learned to be more complaisant to the satrap than when they arrived from Sparta. 'Miletus,' he said, 'being situated in Asia, was within the king of Per-

by Xenophon (Hellen. l. 1. c. 1. s. 2.) Nor is this the only instance in which we find Dorieus, like other gentilitious names among the Greeks, taken as the proper name of an individual.

'sia's proper dominion. It became its people 'therefore to submit to Tissaphernes as his officer; 'and the interest of the confederacy required that 'it should be so.' A majority, however, of the allies in the armament, and, above the rest, the Syracusans, declared openly and vehemently their dissent to the doctrine of Lichas, and their approbation of the conduct of the Milesians. Accordingly the Milesians persisted in excluding the Persian garrison, and asserting their independency, and they manifested, upon all occasions, without scruple or reserve, a warm animosity against the Lacedæmonian commissioner. SECT. VI.

Things were in this state at Miletus, when Mindarus arrived from Lacedæmon to supersede Astyochus in the command-in-chief. Meanwhile the wary Tissaphernes held to the former advice, and would not change his policy for the present persuasion of Alcibiades. He would hold the balance between the contending parties in Greece; and he could no more be induced now to break with the Lacedæmonians, than he had desired before to give them a decisive superiority. On the contrary Astyochus remained in favor: for the same conduct which had rendered that general obnoxious to many of those under his command, had been gratifying to the satrap. When therefore Astyochus returned home, Tissaphernes sent with him Gauleites, a Carian, who spoke the Greek and Persian languages, in quality of his minister to Sparta. Gauleites was instructed to apologize for any apparent slackness in Tissaphernes toward the interest of the Peloponnesian confederacy, and to prefer complaints against the Milesians; particularly insisting upon their affronting and injurious conduct in expelling the Persian garrison. The Milesians, informed of this, Thucyd. l. 8. c. 85. B.C. 411.

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sent ministers to vindicate themselves; and Hermocrates, reduced to the situation of an individual without office, accompanied them to Sparta.

Such, fortunately for Athens, was the distraction of interests among its enemies, while there was an Athenian commonwealth in Attica and another in Samos, more virulently inimical to each other than to any foreign foe. Meanwhile the Fourhundred, through a strange incautiousness, met with a check in their proposed negotiation for peace with Lacedæmon. Their ambassadors imbarked in a trireme, manned with those who had been removed from the herald-ship Paralus, for their devotion to the democratical party at Samos. In passing the Argolic coast, the crew mutinied, carried the vessel into Nauplia, and delivered the ambassadors prisoners to the Argian administration. No independent Grecian state was so interested in the schism of the Athenian commonwealth as Argos. The revolution had excited great alarm. It was apprehended that the abolition of democracy at Athens, would be followed by the downfall of the democratical interest throughout Greece. Intelligence of the turn which things had taken at Samos, was proportionally gratifying: the opportunity to serve the democratical party, by checking the negotiation of their adversaries, was seized with zeal; and, as it was the purpose of the Athenian crew to join the fleet at Samos, the Argians sent with them ministers, commissioned to assure the democratical party there of their friendship and support.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 86.

Thucyd. ut ant.

The commissioners, appointed by the Fourhundred to negotiate with the fleet and army, meanwhile had ventured to proceed from Delos,

and arrived at Samos, about the same time with the ministers from Argos. Alcibiades was already returned; an assembly of the Athenian citizens in the armament was summoned, and the commissioners from Athens, and the Argian ministers, were together admitted to audience. Tumult immediately began among the soldiers. 'Those who 'had subverted the democracy,' it was exclaimed, 'should receive capital punishment.' The generals used their endevors to restore order, and with some difficulty succeeded. The commissioners then addressed the assembly. Their first solicitude was to discredit the charges, reälly replete with falsehood, which had been alledged against the Fourhundred by Chæreas. They assured the soldiers and seamen, 'that their friends and rela-'tions at Athens had never received the least 'injury or molestation from the present govern-'ment.' Thus far they were heard with patience; but when they proceeded to vindicate the change made in the constitution, calling it 'still a de-'mocracy, modified only in such a manner as the 'present circumstances rendered necessary,' they were interrupted with fresh tumult. When quiet was again restored, still the commissioners could not gain attention: others would speak; various opinions were given, various proposals offered; and at length it appeared the prevailing disposition, and even the decided resolution, to sail immediately for Peiræus, and at once restore the former constitution, and punish those who had overthrown it. SECT. VI.

Then, says Thucydides, for the first time, Alcibiades did his country a reäl service, and such a service that perhaps no man ever did a greater. The assembly was on the point of pass-

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ing the rash decree, and, in the zeal of the moment, it would have been carried into instant execution. Athens thus would have been plunged into the horrors of civil war, and every remaining dependency of the commonwealth in Ionia and on the Hellespont would have passed almost instantaneously into the hands of the enemy. No man certainly, continues the historian, but Alcibiades was able to prevent this; and he did prevent it. He reproved the passion that had been shown in the proceedings; and the people, the armed people, bore his reproof: he demonstrated the destructive tendency of what was proposed, and they were alarmed with their own measure: he procured acknowlegement that what had been advised by others was wrong; and, taking upon himself to dictate the answer which should be returned to Athens, they yielded to his authority. 'He did not object,' he said, 'to limiting the 'votes in the general assembly to five thousand: 'but he would require the immediate abolition of 'the council of Fourhundred, and the restoration 'of the antient council of Fivehundred. If the 'new government had retrenched any superfluous 'expence, so that the forces serving abroad might 'be more certainly and plentifully subsisted, they 'should have his applause for it. He trusted 'they would not separately make any treaty with 'the enemy. With the present strength of the 'commonwealth intire, there was good hope that 'the enemy might be brought to a reasonable 'accommodation; but, were so large a portion 'as either the party now prevailing in Samos, or 'the party now prevailing in Athens, to be cut 'off, there would soon be no commonwealth left 'for an enemy to treat with.' Alcibiades, having

thus answered the commissioners, then addressed the Argian ministers; thanking them in the name of the assembly for the zeal their commonwealth had manifested, and desiring they would only hold themselves in readiness to give that assistance, which might become important, tho in the moment it was not wanted. SECT. VI.

This hazardous business being thus fortunately accommodated, it became necessary for Alcibiades to attend to the motions of Tissaphernes, who was gone to Aspendus to visit the Phenician fleet there, and had taken with him the Lacedæmonian commissioner Lichas, with two Peloponnesian triremes, under the command of Philippus, the harmost of Miletus. No less than a hundred and forty-seven ships of war were actually assembled; a force ample to give the superiority to whichsoever of the belligerent powers the satrap might chuse to favor. Alcibiades followed him; probably too well acquainted with both his character and his designs, either to fear that he would afford any very effectual support to the Peloponnesians, or to expect that he would be diverted from a policy, so congenial to his nature, as that of wearing out both parties, while he gave hopes to both. Alcibiades knew also that it was much an object, with the satrap, to gratify his court, by doing its business with the least possible expence. But he had nevertheless his end in his journey. He gained the credit, with the Athenians, of preventing the junction of the Phenician fleet with the Peloponnesians, and he disturbed the councils and measures of the Peloponnesians, by giving new force to the jealousy and mistrust they had for some time entertained of Tissaphernes. B.C.411. P. W. 21. April. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 87. c. 88.

SECTION VII.

Schism in the new Government of Athens: Theramenes: a second Revolution.

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B.C. 411. Ol. 92¼. P. W. 21. April. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 89.

WHILE, at Samos, the democratical party were held together, and concert was maintained in their proceedings, through the decided superiority of one man at their head, division was growing among the many men of great abilities, but of various tempers, views and interests, who directed the affairs of the oligarchal party at Athens. Aristocrates son of Sicelius, Theramenes one of the generals of the establishment, and some others in high offices, had been for some time dissatisfied with the prospect of their affairs; insomuch that they wanted only opportunity to disingage themselves from their party.

c. 90. On the contrary, Antiphon and Peisander, whose strong measures left no means of retreating, Phrynichus, who dreaded nothing equally with the return of Alcibiades, and Aristarchus, upon principle the most inveterate and vehement of all the enemies of the democracy, together with many other men of considerable weight, remained firm in their purpose of maintaining the oligarchy.

The answer from Alcibiades, and the account, brought by their commissioners, of the state of things in Samos, together with their knowlege of the inclination to secession within their own party, gave much uneasiness, but produced no disposition to yield. Their proposed resource was to make peace with Lacedæmon; and upon any terms, rather than not make peace. With an oligarchal government they trusted they might easily obtain, not peace only, but alliance and certain protection:

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and indeed they considered the means of connection with Lacedæmon as their only ground of hope, even for personal safety. Their former embassy having been stopped, by the mutiny of the crew of the vessel in which it sailed, Antiphon and Phrynichus now undertook the negotiation. Those who directed the government at home, were in the meantime to take measures for obviating domestic opposition. With this view it was judged of much importance to forward the completion of a fort, some time since begun, on a spot called Eetioneia, commanding the entrance of the harbor of Peiræus. It was already so far advanced that they established the public magazine of corn there; and they not only caused all corn imported to be there deposited, but compelled all individuals in the city, who possessed any quantity, to send it thither.

Meanwhile the same answer from Samos, which urged the determined supporters of oligarchy to these strong measures, incouraged the dissentients in their proposed secession. That answer offered them a clear overture for an accommodation. Even in Athens the body of the people was still inclined to democracy; and, to restore superiority to the democratical party, leaders only were wanting, in whom the body of the people might confide. To obtain their confidence therefore became the object of Theramenes and Aristocrates. This would give them importance with the chiefs of the armament at Samos, and ground on which to open a treaty. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 89.

Other circumstances followed, still to incourage and incite them. Antiphon and Phrynichus returned from Lacedæmon, without effecting in any degree the purpose of their mission, or however without effecting any purpose that they dared declare. Presently after, intelligence arrived of a

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End of April.

fleet assembling in the Laconian ports, to favor the revolt of Eubœa. Appearances gave to suspect that, instead of Eubœa, the fleet was intended for the Attic coast; and that the fort of Eetioneia was intended to insure the reception of a Peloponnesian fleet, as much as to prevent the entrance of the Athenian into the harbor of Peiræus. Nor was this suspicion, in the opinion of Thucydides, unfounded. The first wish of the oligarchal party, says the historian, was undoubtedly to have the command of the Athenian empire intire: but, if this could not be, they would have been glad to hold the independent dominion of Attica, deprived of the subject-states, yet preserving the fleet and the walls of the city: rather however than submit to the restoration of democracy, which would involve their certain ruin, they would have consented to the demolition of the fortifications of Athens and the surrender of the whole fleet, that their persons and estates only might be secure, under Lacedæmonian protection. The construction of the fort was therefore prosecuted with the utmost diligence; and, as it arose, the disposition of the gates and sally-ports, says the historian, sufficiently indicated its purpose.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 98.

Against these measures, which Thucydides, no friend in general to democracy, reprobates, and which ought to have united, in opposition, every honest hand and heart in Athens, the first signal blow was by assassination; an act in its nature too opposite to all justice, and too subversive of all order, to produce any lasting good, in whatever cause it may be practised. A few days after the return of the ambassadors from Lacedæmon toward midday, in the full agora, and not far from the state-house, Phrynichus was stabbed by one of the city-

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guard, and died soon after of the wound. The murderer escaped; but an accomplice, an Argian, was taken, and being put to the torture by the Fourhundred, indicated no name, nor declared anything, but that there had been frequent and numerous meetings in different houses, particularly in that of the commander of the city-guard. No information was obtained, on which any prosecution could be founded: inquiry concerning the murder dropped, the deed being evidently popular; and Theramenes and Aristocrates, whether conscious of the crime or not, were incouraged by the event to proceed in their design[18]. Those of their party, who were of the Fourhundred, meanwhile kept their seats in that council, and Theramenes his office as a general of the establishment.

Lys. con. Agorat. p. 136, vel 491. Lycurg. con. Leoc. p. 217. t. 4. Or. Gr. Reiske.

Things were in this situation when the alarming intelligence arrived, that the Peloponnesian armament, instead of going to Eubœa, had overrun the iland of Ægina, and was now at anchor in the harbor of Epidaurus, as if threatening Athens itself. Theramenes had foretold that this would happen. From the event, thus confirming his prediction, he took occasion farther to animate his party against the party of Antiphon. 'If 'preventive measures,' he said, 'were not quickly 'taken, the Peloponnesian troops would be ad-'mitted into the fort of Eetioneia, and a Lace-'dæmonian would command in Peiræus.' It was

[18] The orator Lycurgus, in his accusation of Leocrates, relates the murder of Phrynichus differently, in regard to some facts of little consequence; as that it was committed by night without the city, at a fountain near some willow-beds: but he remarkably confirms, what is more important in the account of Thucydides, the popularity of the deed, and the popularity of the principle, that assassination, in the cause of the people, was meritorious.

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accordingly resolved to strike the decisive stroke: a large proportion of the heavy-armed were already gained, the taxis commanded by Aristocrates, a body nearly correspondent to our battalion, was on duty at the works of Eetioneia, and Hermon, an officer warm in their interest, commanded in Munychia. Under these favoring circumstances, when measures were not yet completely concerted, the soldiers, in their zeal for the cause, arrested Alexicles, the general commanding in Peiræus, a man zealous in the oligarchal interest, put him in close confinement, and then set themselves to demolish the fort of Eetioneia.

Intelligence of this violence passed to Athens while the council was sitting, and Theramenes present. The members of the opposite party, alarmed and indignant, accused Theramenes and his immediate friends, as instigators of sedition. Theramenes, with ready coolness, replied to the charge, and proposed to go himself and release his collegue. This being incautiously approved, he went instantly, taking with him one of his collegues present, whose political sentiments he knew to agree with his own. Meanwhile alarm spred rapidly, from the state-house through the city; it was generally supposed that Alexicles was put to death, and that the democratical party had taken possession of Peiræus, with intention to maintain themselves there, in opposition to the existing government. While therefore Aristarchus, with a small body of the equestrian order, whom he could collect in the instant, hastened after Theramenes, all the younger and more zealous of the oligarchal party ran to arms. The elder interfered to check the indiscretion of zeal

on both sides; and Thucydides of Pharsalus in Thessaly, a public guest of the commonwealth, particularly distinguished himself in appeasing the commotion. Quiet thus was so far restored that, excepting the few who accompanied Aristarchus, none marched in arms to Peiræus. SECT. VII.

Aristarchus and Theramenes arrived nearly together. The latter immediately addressed the soldiers with the authority of general, and reproved their conduct. It was however known, by many, that his words did not perfectly express his sentiments; and, while some attended to his speech, others continued the demolition of the fort. Aristarchus, with those of the oligarchal party about him, with much indignation interfered in vain. The soldiers, addressing Theramenes, asked, 'If 'he really thought it for the public good that the 'fort should be completed, or if the interest of the 'commonwealth did not rather require that it 'should be destroyed?' Having had time then to look about him, and seeing that he should have sufficient support, he answered, 'If they were of 'opinion that it ought to be demolished, he could 'not dissent.' This sufficed for the soldiers: the whole body set immediately to work; and the word was passed, or rather a kind of short proclamation was made through Peiræus, evidently not a momentary thought of the soldiers themselves, but either preconcerted among them, or communicated by the leaders of the party; 'Who-'ever is for the government of the Fivethousand, 'instead of the tyranny of the Fourhundred, let 'him assist in demolishing the fort.' To have named democracy, or the government of the people at large, as treason against the existing government, would have rendered the delinquents ob-

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noxious to capital punishment; but an appeal to the Fivethousand was legal, by the constitution of the Fourhundred themselves. Numbers of the inhabitants of Peiræus obeyed the call, and the demolition of the fort proceeded rapidly.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 93.

Next day, the fort being completely destroyed, the soldiers released their General Alexicles; and then going to the theater of Bacchus, adjoining to Munychia, there held a regular assembly. The result of the debate was a resolution to march into Athens, and take possession of the Anaceium, the precinct of a temple of Castor and Pollux, as place of arms. The regularity of their proceedings, the appeal to the Fivethousand, and the care taken to do nothing that a majority among any five thousand of the citizens might not perhaps approve, alarmed and distressed the oligarchal leaders, more than if greater violences had been committed. The Fourhundred, however, assembling at their usual hour, sent a committee to confer with the troops. Addressing themselves more to individuals, and to small parties, than to the assembled body, the committee endevored to conciliate the more moderate, and to persuade them to use their endevors to pacify the more violent: 'The Fivethousand,' they said, 'should be immediately declared; the 'Fourhundred now in office should lay down their 'authority in due time; and it should be for the 'Fivethousand to decide the kind of rotation, and 'the mode of election, by which their successors should be appointed. Meanwhile every 'dearest interest ought to warn the soldiers not, by 'any violences, to afford those opportunities to an 'enemy at their gates, which might superinduce 'the destruction of the commonwealth.' These arguments, urged in a conciliating manner, had

their effect: and it was at length agreed that, on a day named, a general assembly should be held, in the precinct of the temple of Bacchus, to consider of means for effecting a permanent reconciliation of parties. SECT. VII.

The day appointed being come, the people were already moving toward the temple of Bacchus, when intelligence was communicated, that the Peloponnesian fleet under Hegesandridas, consisting of forty-two triremes, having crossed the gulph from Epidaurus, and touched at Megara, was actually off Salamis. Immediately the whole force of Athens, of both parties, united for the moment by the fear of a common enemy, ran down to Peiræus as by consent; and, without waiting, or, most of them, caring, for orders from the existing government, each did what the exigency of the moment appeared to him to require: some went aboard the triremes afloat; others launched those ashore; some took post upon the walls, and some at the mouth of the harbor. The Peloponnesians however made no attempt upon the Attic coast, but, doubling the headland of Sunium, proceeded to Oropus. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 94. c. 95.

New alarm then seized the Athenians. The disposition in Eubœa to revolt was known. Already deprived of the produce of Attica by the garrison of Decelęia, the added loss of Eubœa would nearly deprive them of means to subsist. Corn, meat, every article of food came principally from Eubœa. Hastily therefore, and under no regular direction, as in a dissolution of government, they manned some triremes with such crews as in the moment offered, and, under the command of Thymochares, the squadron moved immediately for Eretria: some triremes stationed there made their number thirty-six. Among the numerous proofs, in history, of

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the great defects in the antient system of naval war, what followed is not in the least remarkable. Thymochares landed his crews to get refreshment. The Eretrians, prepared for revolt, had concerted measures with Hegesandridas. No provisions were to be found in the public market; the Athenians could supply themselves only from private houses far from the port, and the crews in consequence dispersed over the town. A signal was given by the Eretrians; the Spartan admiral made across the channel; and the Athenian fleet was attacked, while the crews were in confusion, and before all could be got aboard. After some resistance, therefore, it was compelled to fly. Some of the ships escaped into the harbor of Chalcis; the rest mostly ran upon the Eretrian coast, and the crews fled by land. Those who reached a fort occupied by an Athenian garrison, adjoining to Eretria, were safe; but others, who, confiding in the friendship of the Eretrians, entered the city, were all put to death. Two-and-twenty triremes fell into the hands of the Peloponnesians; and presently all Eubœa, except Oreus, revolted to them.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 96.

The consternation at Athens, on receiving the news of the event, was greater than even from the defeat in Sicily. Attica itself was less valuable to Athens than Eubœa; not only as the soil was less fertile, but as the appropriation of the produce was less certain, to a power, hitherto the first upon earth by sea, but inferior to its enemies by land. Nor was this the only distressing consideration; for, had the enemy pushed with their victorious fleet immediately for Peiræus, they might have possessed themselves of the harbor. What precisely might have been the consequence was beyond human foresight; but this, says the cotemporary historian,

may be esteemed certain, that nothing less than the return of the fleet from Samos, which would have superinduced the loss of Ionia, the Hellespont, and in short the whole forein dominion, could have saved Athens. It was not however upon this occasion only, he continues, that the Lacedæmonians showed themselves most accommodating enemies to the Athenians; and thus the misfortune, which threatened the ruin of the commonwealth, proved the prelude to its restoration. SECT. VII.

Twenty triremes remained still in the port of Peiræus, and they were immediately manned. But, in the present state of fermentation, who should undertake the direction of public measures, or who could undertake it with effect, was not easy to determine. Probably nothing could prevent the people from assembling wherever public affairs were to be debated. A proposal hazarded for summoning them to the Pnyx, where, under the democracy, the general assemblies had been most commonly held, met with general approbation and no avowed opposition. In the Pnyx accordingly the people met; the democratical chiefs found the power in their hands; and a decree proposed was passed, with all the antient forms, declaring, 'That the 'council of Fourhundred should be dissolved; that 'the supreme authority should be immediately 'vested in Fivethousand; that all, at the time in 'Athens, upon the roll of the heavy-armed, should 'be of the Fivethousand; that no man in any office 'under the commonwealth should receive any pay.' Before 24 June.

This change was no sooner decided, and the party of Theramenes in consequence possessed of a clear superiority, than Peisander, Alexicles, Aristarchus, and many others of the principal supporters of oligarchy, quitted Athens, and most of them Thucyd. l. 8. c. 98.

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went to Deceleia. Aristarchus used the means which his office of general afforded, in abandoning his country, to strike a blow against it. Œnoë, that town on the Attic border against Bœotia, the ineffectual siege of which, by the army under Archidamus, had, twenty-one years before, been the first object of the Peloponnesian arms in the war, was still held by an Athenian garrison. The troops passing between Deceleia and Peloponnesus were frequently annoyed from it, and a party of Corinthians had been lately cut off. The Corinthian government, thus instigated, had invited the Bœotians to join them in reducing the place; and the siege was formed. When Aristarchus determined to fly, he commanded the attendance of some of the barbarian bowmen in the Athenian service; and selecting for the purpose, according to the historian's phrase, the most barbarian, he went to Œnoë. Having quickly concerted matters with the besiegers, he told the garrison, that a treaty was made with Lacedæmon, according to which Œnoë must be immediately surrendered to the Bœotians. The garrison, excluded from other information, gave credit to a man known to be in the office of general of the commonwealth; and, obtaining from the besieging army a safe conduct, evacuated the place.

Antiphon, with a few oligarchal leaders of less note, ventured to remain in Athens; Antiphon apparently trusting in his policy, his eloquence, his personal influence, and the quiet conduct he had observed; directing the secret councils of the party, but leaving others to be the ostensible conductors of every measure. Upon the flight however of the more active leaders, opposition to Theramenes and his associates had ceased. Many assemblies of the people were successively held,

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according to the antient forms of the common-wealth, in the Pnyx: the restoration of Alcibiades, and of all who, for the same cause, had absented themselves from their country, was decreed; and the constitution was settled, says the cotemporary historian, upon a better footing than at any time within my memory[13]; a mixed government being established, with the same authority judiciously divided between the Few and the Many.

In this concise eulogy is contained the whole of the account, given by Thucydides, of the form of government established by Theramenes; and upon no occasion does he leave us so much to regret the want of explanation and detail. Upon no occasion, however, do we see the historian more strongly marked as the true patriot. Frequently we find him reprobating the extravagancies of an unbalanced democracy so strongly, that we might suspect him of some partiality for oligarchy. But here, as indeed throughout his account of the oligarchy established by Peisander, he shows himself a decided enemy to tyranny in every shape, and the warm partizan only of whatever government might best secure universal freedom through equal and well supported law.

[13] Ἐπί γε ἐμοῦ. *In my opinion*, Smith.—*Meo judicio*, Duker. But Duker adds, in a note, *Acacius ἐπί γε ἐμοῦ non malè vertit meâ quidem memoriâ.* I have no doubt in preferring the version of Acacius.

SECTION VIII.

Transactions of the Peloponnesian Fleet under Mindarus, and the Athenian under Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus. Naval Action near Abydus. Wily and treacherous Policy of Tissaphernes. Naval Action near the Trojan Shore. Critical Arrival of Alcibiades. Naval Action near Cyzicus, and Capture of the Peloponnesian Fleet. Laconic official Letter. Liberality of Pharnabazus to the Peloponnesians. Able Conduct and Popularity of Hermocrates, the Syracusan General.

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B. C. 411. P. W. 21. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 99.

DURING these transactions at Athens, the Peloponnesian armament, on the Asiatic coast, had been wholly occupied with the distresses, to which the want of an adequate revenue of their own, and the failure of the satrap Tissaphernes in his ingagements, had reduced them. One of the Lacedæmonian commissioners, Philippus, had attended the satrap to Aspendus: another, Hippocrates, was stationed at Phaselis. All intelligence, from both, confirmed the opinion, long entertained, of the satrap's faithlessness, and of his determined purpose to deceive them. Meanwhile fresh overtures arrived from the satrap of Bithynia, Pharnabazus; who, having observed the advantage which Tissaphernes derived from his Grecian connection, the recovery of dominion over the Grecian towns within his satrapy, and of the tribute from them, which for a long time had passed to Athens, showed himself disposed to treat upon terms which, with his more honorable character, might be inviting. These united motives induced Mindarus, the new commander-in-chief, to resolve upon moving with the fleet to the Hellespont, for the sake of readier and surer communication with the Bithynian satrap. But the Athenian fleet at Samos was in the most favorable situation to intercept his passage; and tho his numbers were superior, he desired to

avoid a general action. Secrecy and caution, however, he hoped might prevent interruption; but a storm coming upon him in the passage, compelled him to take shelter in the harbor of Icarus, and remain there five or six days. SECT. VIII.

During this interval, intelligence passed to Samos, that the Peloponnesian fleet had quitted the port of Miletus for the northward. Thrasyllus, with whom, in the absence of Alcibiades and Thrasybulus, the chief command rested, in all haste moved with fifty-five triremes for the Hellespont, anxious to arrive before the Peloponnesians; but, in his passage, learning that Mindarus, from Icarus, had gone with his fleet to Chios, and remained there, he put into Methymnë in Lesbos. Beside that Methymnë was a commodious station for watching the Peloponnesian fleet, the affairs of that valuable iland required his attention. Some men of the first families of Methymnë, exiles on account of their aversion to democracy and the Athenian interest, had proposed to profit from present circumstances for restoring themselves to their country; the Peloponnesian armament being at hand, the two satraps friendly, and Athens distracted by sedition. Having accordingly, collected a small force on the continent, in pursuance of the common prejudice in favor of a leader from the mother-country, they put themselves under the conduct of Anaxarchus, a Theban: the Bœotians being esteemed the parent people of the Æolian race, and particularly of the Lesbians[14]. Their first

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 100. Beginning of July.

[14] Ἀναξάρχου Θηβαίου, κατὰ τὸ συγγενὲς, ἡγουμένου. Hoc Thucydides, 3. 86. 6. 88. & alibi de populis ejusdem originis & consanguineis dicit. Quænam autem sit Thebanorum, &. Methymnæorum, vel Cymæorum, si quis hoc ad eos pertinere putabit, συγγένεια, nunc non scio, nec vacat quærere. Duker. —I own I am better pleased with such direct confession, than

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attempt was a surprize upon Methymnë itself; but the vigilance of the Athenian commander in Mitylenë disappointing them, they hastened across the heights which divide the iland, and by a sudden assault took Eresus. Intelligence of these circumstances had called Thrasybulus with five triremes to Lesbos; he found there two Athenian triremes and five Methymnæan, and Thrasyllus now joined him with fifty-five. The heavy-armed were debarked, and preparation was made to attack Eresus by sea and land.

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 101.

Meanwhile Mindarus, still desirous to avoid action with the Athenian fleet, and considering the business of Eresus as a small concern, left his Methymnæan friends to their fate, and made his course along the Asiatic shore for the Hellespont. Thu-

when those who undertake to be commentators, pass by difficult passages, often of much more historical importance, as if there were no difficulty in them. One cannot, however, but wonder at Duker's difficulty here, because the consanguinity of the Lesbians and Bœotians not only is mentioned by Thucydides in his account of the Mitylenæan revolt, (b. 3. c. 2.) but the scholiast, commenting upon the passage, explains it well and clearly thus: —Καὶ παρασκευάζονται (οἱ Λέσβιοι) ὥςε ἀποςῆναι, ξυλλαμβανόντων αὐτοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν. Τὸ δὲ ΣΥΓΓΕΝΩΝ ΟΝΤΩΝ ἐπὶ μόνους τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἀνακτέον· οὗτοι γὰρ κατὰ τὸ Αἰολικὸν συγγενεῖς τῶν Λεσβίων. The reader, who may desire higher authority than the scholiast, will find Strabo large on the subject. I have been induced to say thus much on this little matter, principally for the testimony which we here find from Thucydides, in confirmation of Strabo's account of the origin of the Æolian Greeks of Asia; which has been followed in the account given of the Æolic migration, in the second section of the fifth chapter of this History. It is indeed, not without attention to such little detached scraps of information, wherever they can be found among the works of the most authoritative antient writers, that we are inabled to collect the scattered members of early Grecian history; to detect the supposititious and doubtful among what is related by inferior or later authors; to ascertain and arrange the genuine; and, without the assistance of invention, to form, of parts so broken and dispersed, something of a harmonizing whole.

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cydides has thought important enough for notice, what would now appear utterly trifling, except as it marks, more strongly than anything that has yet occurred, the imperfection of the marine of that age. Speed was the object of Mindarus, both for avoiding the Athenians in the passage, and for being before them in the Hellespont: but, as oars were his instruments of motion, intervals of rest were necessary for his crews; and, as we have already had occasion to observe, the construction of a trireme was such, and the crews so numerous for the space, that refreshment could not conveniently be taken aboard. Mindarus therefore landed his crews to dine, at a port of the Phocæan territory, and to sup, at Arginusæ in the Cumæan territory, over-against Lesbos, where lay the Athenian fleet, which he was so anxious to avoid. Moving again, however, in the night, he dined next day at Harmatous, and, proceeding in the afternoon with the utmost haste, part of his fleet arrived before midnight at Rhœteium, within the Hellespont, and the rest in the harbor of Sigeium at its mouth. Eighteen Athenian triremes were lying at Sestos. Fire-signals from the Asiatic shore announced to them their danger, and they hastened to get out of the narrow sea. Of four intercepted[15], one, forced ashore near a temple dedicated to Homer's hero Protesilaus, was

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 102.

[15] Smith gives to suppose, by his translation, that eight were taken; the Latin version more happily imitates all that is dubious in the original. I think Thucydides meant to speak of only four taken. The matter is not important; but it may be observed that, as Thucydides never completed his History, the latter chapters, and indeed much of the last book, bear marks of undigested compilation, and in some places, of uncorrected phrase. I should however rather suppose the whole his own unfinished work, than that the concluding part was written by another, it has been said his daughter, from his materials.

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taken with its crew; the crews of the other three escaped.

The Athenian commanders had trusted, that the Peloponnesian fleet could not pass Lesbos without being discovered by their scouts. Receiving intelligence that it was already in the Hellespont, they followed immediately, and in their passage took two Peloponnesian triremes, which had incautiously pushed too far, in pursuing the Athenian squadron from Sestos. On the second day they arrived at Elæus, upon which place Mindarus had been making an unsuccessful attempt. His fleet, reinforced with a squadron which he found at Abydus, consisted of eighty-six triremes. Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, with only sixty-eight, resolved to offer him battle[16]. Five days they employed in preparation in the harbor of Elæus, and then moved into the strait, with their line of battle formed ahead. The Peloponnesians came out of the harbor of Abydus, and formed for action. The Athenians extending their line, to prevent being taken in flank by the more numerous enemy, weakened their center, which the Peloponnesians in consequence broke; and, driving fifteen triremes ashore, debarked and destroyed them. This advantage, however, produced disorder in the Peloponnesian line, from which Thrasybulus, who commanded the right of the Athenian fleet, instantly profited; and, being quickly well seconded by Thrasyllus, they put the whole Peloponnesian fleet to flight, and took twenty-one ships: the rest found refuge in the neighboring

Middle of July. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 105.

c. 106.

[16] There can be no doubt but Acacius and Hudson are right in their correction of the statement of the numbers of the two fleets in this place. It does not rest on conjecture, or on the authority of Diodorus, but is supported by the clear testimony of Thucydides himself.

port of Abydus. The Peloponnesians acknowleged their defeat, by the usual application, through heralds, for the restoration of the dead, and the Athenians erected their trophy on the headland of Cynos-sema. SECT. VIII.

This victory, gained with inferior numbers, was very opportune for the Athenians. The depression of the spirits of the seamen, produced by the defeats at Syracuse, was done away, and they no longer feared the Peloponnesians as their equals in naval action. A trireme, sent to Athens with the news, diffused more than common joy. It was as the first symptom of recovery from a mortal disease; the more welcome as the more unexpected. Leaders and people were equally incouraged to bear present evils, and exert themselves with good hope, giving their attention, especially, as the urgency of the moment required, to the revolt of Eubœa, and the disorders occasioned by the late sedition.

The advantages, to be expected from a successful battle, followed the victory of Cynos-sema: the allies and dependants, remaining to Athens, were confirmed in their fidelity; those who had revolted were less satisfied with the part they had taken; and means were opened for new enterprize. The fleet sailed for Cyzicus; eight Peloponnesian triremes, returning from Byzantium, were taken by the way; and Cyzicus, unfortified, surrendering without a blow, paid for its change of politics by a heavy contribution. Meanwhile the Peloponnesian commanders, afraid to keep the sea, and apprehensive of losing all they had gained on the Asiatic and Hellespontine shores, sent for their fleet from Eubœa to reïnforce them. Alcibiades soon after rejoined the Athenian fleet with thirteen ships, bringing with him the incouraging assurance, that he Thucyd. l. 8. c. 107. c. 108.

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had completely diverted Tissaphernes from his purpose of permitting the Phenician fleet to join the Peloponnesian, and that he had finally conciliated him to the Athenian interest. He seems, however, not to have obtained any pecuniary supply. To procure means therefore for subsisting the armament, for which little or no remittance could be expected from home, he went southward again with a squadron of twenty-two triremes; levied large contributions at Halicarnassus, and in the neighboring country; and fixing upon the iland of Cos as a convenient station, whence to command the Carian seas and shores, he raised a fort and left a garrison there.

Tissaphernes, meanwhile, more wily than wise, and true to nothing but his evervarying opinion of his own interest, was very uneasy at the departure of the Peloponnesian fleet from Miletus. He not only apprehended the loss of advantages derived from his Grecian alliance, but he envied the probable accession of those advantages to Pharnabazus. From Aspendus, therefore, he hastened back into Ionia, and on his arrival found fresh cause of dissatisfaction. The Cnidians, after the example of the Milesians, had expelled his garrison from their citadel. Nor did the evil rest there. The Greeks under the Persian dominion, in general perhaps less rigorously treated than under the Athenian, would yet be more liable, especially in the decay of the empire, to occasional oppression from the temper of individuals in command. Arsaces, an officer under Tissaphernes, of a cruel and faithless disposition, had made himself particularly odious by treacherously assassinating some of the Delians, whom, on their expulsion from their iland by the Athenians, the kindness of the satrap Pharnaces had establish-

Thucyd. l. 8. c. 109.

c. 108.

Ch. 16. s. 5. of this Hist.

ed in Atramytteium. The Antandrians, oppressed by this man, and fearing farther oppression, had applied to the Peloponnesians at Abydus; and a body of Peloponnesian heavy-armed, whom they conducted over the heights of Ida, assisted in expelling the Persian garrison from their citadel. SECT VIII.

Alarmed by all these circumstances, Tissaphernes resolved to go himself to the Hellespont, to confer and remonstrate with the Peloponnesian commanders. Stopping in his way at Ephesus, he performed a sacrifice to Diana. Such a compliment to such a religion as the Greek, from a Persian, tho a weak man, in the high situation of Tissaphernes, and whether superstition or policy produced it, appears strong proof that decay, in various ways, had been making rapid progress in the Persian empire. With the mention of this very remarkable fact, the narrative of Thucydides ends abruptly. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 109. Beginning of August.

Fortunately for Grecian history and for litterature, another cotemporary author, little inferior in abilities, at least equal in acquirements, and even of more extensive communication among men, has left us a continuation. But the narrative of Xenophon begins as abruptly as that of Thucydides ends; and, tho there appears no material chasm, nothing important omitted, yet the connection is not complete[17]. The first fact mentioned by Xeno-

[17] It has been disputed, among the learned, whether the account of Xenophon begins precisely where that of Thucydides breaks off. Unquestionably Xenophon has intended a complete continuation; and Dodwell, in his Xenophontean Chronology, appears to me to have proved satisfactorily that there is no chasm, or next to none, in the narrative. But there is a circumstance, unnoticed, I believe, by the commentators, which very strongly contradicts the notion of a chasm: it is the mention made by Xenophon of the completion of the journey of

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phon, in his Grecian Annals, is, that Thymochares, the Athenian commander in the unfortunate action near Eretria, arriving with a few ships from Athens, had a second action with the Peloponnesian squadron under Hegesandridas, and was again defeated. Where this action happened, whether still on the Eubœan coast, or whether Hegesandridas obeyed the summons of Mindarus, and Thymochares followed him toward the Hellespont, we are not informed.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 1. s. 1.

B.C. 411. P. W. 21. End of Sept.

Soon after this, and a little after the autumnal equinox, the Thurian commander, Dorieus son of Diagoras, coming from Rhodes to the Hellespont with fourteen triremes, notice of his approach was communicated by signals to the Athenian commanders in Sestos, and twenty triremes were sent to intercept them. The Peloponnesian fleet still lay at Abydus: the commander-in-chief, Mindarus, was at the time in the neighboring town of Ilium, on or near the site of antient Troy, performing a sacrifice to Minerva. The situation commanded a

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 1. s. 2.

s. 3.

Tissaphernes, (the beginning of which is related by Thucydides,) stating the time of his arrival at the Hellespont. The Hellenics, or Grecian Annals, are however, evidently enough, a work which has not received the finishing touches of the author: in the very beginning of it he seems rather to have taken some short notes of Thucydides, or to have made some of his own, and left them for future correction, which was never given; and thus, tho all the principal facts intended for mention are recorded, yet they are neither separately so clearly related, nor is the connection so perspicuous, as might be expected from such a writer. The first paragraph, Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον, κ. τ. ε. bears all the appearance of an undigested note. Μετὰ ταῦτα has scarcely been intended to relate to the sacrifice of Tissaphernes at Ephesus, with the mention of which the History of Thucydides ends, but rather to something in the course of relating which, had the work received the finishing touches of the author, the place of the insuing action, between the Athenian squadron under Thymochares and the Lacedæmonian under Hegesandridas, would have been stated.

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view of the strait, and of the adjacent sea; and he saw the movement of the Athenians, and the danger of Dorieus. Hastening to Abydus, he led his whole fleet out of the harbor. The whole Athenian fleet upon this moved, and a general action insued. Through the greatest part of the day it was maintained with various success in different parts of the line; but toward evening eighteen Athenian triremes were seen coming into the strait from the southward. They were the squadron of Alcibiades returning from the Carian coast. Then the Peloponnesians fled toward Abydus. But Abydus had no harbor that could protect them: that dubious kind of action between land and water, of which we have already observed many examples, could alone defend their stranded galleys. Fortunately for them, the satrap Pharnabazus was at hand with a considerable landforce. Of widely different character from the deceitful and timid Tissaphernes, Pharnabazus rode at the head of his cavalry, as far as his horse would carry him, into the sea, to relieve his distressed allies. Through the protection thus afforded, the crews mostly escaped; but the Athenians carried off thirty triremes. Thrasyllus was dispatched to Athens to announce the victory, and desire reïnforcement; and Alcibiades, judging forty ships now sufficient for the station at Sestos, sent the rest of the fleet various ways, to collect contributions which might supply immediate need.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 1. s. 4.

s. 5.

Nothing farther of importance had occurred, when Tissaphernes arrived at the Hellespont[18]. Alcibiades went to wait upon him, expecting a reception more favorable than formerly, in proportion as his own circumstances were improved, as

s. 6.

[18] Εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον.

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he had less need of personal assistance, and more power to serve or injure. He did not however neglect to carry presents, both such as Grecian hospitality prescribed, and such as the eastern great were wont to expect, or be gratified with[19]; but he found himself greatly deceived. The faithless satrap, alledging orders from the king to consider the Athenians as enemies, caused him to be arrested and sent prisoner to Sardis. After a confinement of about a month, however, he escaped to Clazomenæ, a city of the Athenian alliance; whence, with six ships[20], which he found there, he returned to his fleet in the Hellespont.

B.C. 410. Ol. 92. 2. P. W. 22. March.

While Alcibiades was thus absent, and the Athenian fleet scattered, Mindarus having received reïnforcements which made his fleet sixty triremes, proposed to attack the forty which lay at Sestos; but timely intelligence of his intention coming to the commanders, they withdrew by night to Cardia, at the bottom of the gulph on the other side of the Chersonese. Alcibiades joined them there; but he joined them with other hopes than he had given, both the armament and the people at home, to entertain. All the expectations, which he had raised so high, of assistance from the great king through the satrap, the coöperation of the Phenician fleet, and, what was still more important to the commonwealth, and what would be incomparably more felt by the armament, the pay which

[19] Thus I suppose the ξενία τε καὶ δῶρα of Xenophon may be interpreted, the former word relating to Grecian customs, the latter to Persian.

[20] Σὺν πέντε τριήρεσι καὶ ἑπακτρίδι. Cum quinque triremibus et una navi actuaria. Xenophon seems afterward to reckon the ἑπακτρὶς among the ναῦς. I do not recollect that Thucydides ever gives the title of ναῦς to any but ships of war, except once to a merchant-ship of very large size, ναῦς μυριοφόρος, in the harbor of Syracuse, l. 7. c. 25.

would never fail, were at an end. Deprived of Ionia, of the Hellespontine cities, of the Thracian colonies, of Attica itself, and retaining but a precarious dominion over a part of Eubœa, the sources of that revenue, by which the commonwealth had hitherto been powerful, were gone; and the pay of Persia, promised by Alcibiades, was what both the armament abroad and the people at home had depended upon, for means to recover their losses, and to support even a defensive war. SECT. VIII.

In these circumstances Alcibiades saw that daring measures, and quick decision, were necessary, both for himself and for the commonwealth. Mindarus, disappointed of his purpose against the fleet at Sestos, by its retreat to Cardia, had moved to Cyzicus; and, Pharnabazus, meeting him with his landforces, that defenceless town was compelled again to receive its law from the enemies of Athens. Alcibiades resolved, tho with a force considerably inferior, to seek them there. From Cardia he moved to Sestos; and every preparation being made that circumstances admitted, orders were already issued for proceeding up the Propontis, when Theramenes arrived from Macedonia, and Thrasybulus from Thasus, each with twenty triremes. This fortunate reïnforcement made new consideration necessary: it was important to conceal from the enemy the increased numbers of the fleet. On arriving therefore at the iland of Prœconnesus, a proclamation was issued, denouncing capital punishment against any who should be taken in the attempt to cross to the Asiatic shore. The soldiers and seamen were then summoned, as to a popular assembly; and Alcibiades, addressing them, ventured to declare, without reserve, the necessities of their situation. 'Supplies,' he said, 'to the amount that the prose- Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 1. s. 9. s. 8. s. 10.

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'cution of the war would require, were not within 'their present power to obtain, or within the means 'of the commonwealth to afford: the enemy, on 'the contrary, supported by the wealth of Persia, 'knew no want. Vigorous exertion and quick de- 'cision were therefore indispensable: they must 'prepare for action both by sea and land; and by 'land both in the field, and in the attack of fortifi- 'cations.' Past success, superiority of present strength, and an opinion of their general's ability, gave confidence, and the speech of Alcibiades was received with applause; the assembly was dismissed, all were ordered aboard, and the fleet, consisting of eighty-six ships, got under way.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 1. s. 11.

A heavy rain presently came on, which favored the purpose of surprizing the enemy. As the fleet approached Cyzicus, the weather cleared, and the enemy's fleet, of sixty triremes, was seen exercising, at such a distance from the port that its return was already intercepted. The Peloponnesians, discovering the Athenian fleet so much stronger than they had expected, were in great consternation. They had no hope of success in naval action, and the enemy was between them and their port. The resource, which the nature of the antient marine afforded, was to make for the nearest shore, and depend upon the assistance of their landforce for the protection of their stranded ships. Alcibiades, aware of their intention, passing with twenty ships beyond their line, debarked his people. Mindarus, seeing this, also debarked, met Alcibiades, was defeated, and himself slain. The crews of the whole Peloponnesian fleet then fled; and, except the Syracusan squadron, burnt by its own people, every ship was carried off by the Athenians. Cyzicus was abandoned, both by the Peloponnesians and by

s. 12.

s. 13.

the satrap; and next day, the Athenian fleet approaching, the inhabitants immediately surrendered. SECT. VIII.

This important success, which left the enemy in a moment without a fleet, would of course go far to restore the animation of the armament, and the popularity of the commander. But the situation of Alcibiades was still of extreme difficulty. The government at home could not yet the more for his victory supply his armament. Instead therefore of prosecuting operations against the enemy, his first attention was necessarily still to be given to providing subsistence for his own people. Remaining twenty days at Cyzicus, he raised large contributions there. The historian remarks that the Cyzicenes experienced no other severity; as if he thought another general might not have been so indulgent: tho in the defenceless state of their town, to have avoided contending with the united force of the Peloponnesians and the satrap, it should seem, could not very reasonably be imputed to them as a crime. The fleet then went to Perinthus and Selymbria, where contributions were also raised. Proceeding thence to Chrysopolis in the Chalcedonian territory, near the entrance of the Euxine, Alcibiades caused that place to be fortified, and established there a customhouse for levying a duty of a tenth in value of all cargoes passing the strait. This mode of collecting a revenue requiring force, he left, beside a garrison, thirty ships there, with Theramenes and Eubulus to command. With the rest of the fleet he returned to the Hellespont. Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 1. s. 13. s. 14.

While Alcibiades was thus profiting from victory, the Peloponnesians were suffering distress, of which a very remarkable picture remains, in the letter written to the Spartan government by s. 15.

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Hippocrates, to whom the command-in-chief devolved on the death of Mindarus, It was intercepted by the Athenians, and, being reported in the original dialect by Xenophon, is among the most curious and authentic specimens of Laconic writing. In any change of language it must suffer, but it ran nearly thus: 'Success hath turned 'against us: Mindarus is slain: the men hunger: 'what to do we know not.' These four short sentences made the whole of the dispatch.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 1. s. 16.

The Peloponnesians, however, found an able and generous friend in the satrap Pharnabazus, who not only relieved their wants but soothed their feelings: 'Their loss in men,' he said, 'had 'not been great, and the meer loss of ships ought 'not to dispirit them: the king's dominions 'abounded with materials; and they should soon 'have another fleet.' Distributing then to every

s. 17.

man of the armament a garment, and subsistence for two months, he sent the generals[21] and commanders of triremes to Antandrus, at the southern foot of Mount Ida, where timber abounded, to superintend the construction of a fleet; directing, that as many vessels should be built, for every state of the confederacy, as had been lost by each in the late action. That the seamen might not in the meantime be totally idle or useless, furnishing them with heavy armor, which was a gratification,

[21] Military and naval command were constantly, among the antients, united in the same person; whence they had but one title for the commanders-in-chief in the two services. The complete separation of the two commands, with us, has produced distinct titles; and hence we are without a word to express the office which united the two, as the antient languages are without terms to express the distinction. The term General here is not accurate, but we have none more so.

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inasmuch as an ideä of superior honor was attached to the service of the heavy-armed, he appointed them to the guard of the maritime territory.

While the Peloponnesians were employed in building a fleet at Antandrus, the Antandrians themselves were busied in raising walls for the defence of their town. But among the numbers of the Peloponnesian armament, in this unavoidable intermission of military enterprize, some would have times of total leisure; and some, notwithstanding the endevors of Pharnabazus to obviate the evil, would be likely to abuse that leisure. In these circumstances none, among the various people who composed the armament, behaved so unexceptionably toward the inhabitants as the Syracusans: and this was the more remarkable, as discipline was much less inforced by law among them than among any of the Peloponnesian forces, or even the Athenian; the Syracusan democracy being a constitution far less well regulated than the Athenian. But Hermocrates had been restored to the command of the Syracusan squadron; and he not only himself possessed the confidence of all under him, but he taught the superior officers to acquire the confidence of the inferior, and these that of the multitude. Thus a gradation of influence supplied the place of subordination inforced by penalty, and a strict discipline was founded upon reverence and affection. To effect this requires the most capacious mind united with the most refined temper, and is indeed among the most exalted efforts of human genius. The benevolence of Hermocrates led the way for those under his command to be benevolent, and the leisure of the Syracusans was employed in assisting the Antandrians in the construction of their fortifications.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 1. s. 21. B.C.410.

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In gratitude for this kindness, a decree of the Antandrian people gave the freedom of their city to all the people of Syracuse.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 1. s. 18.

Meanwhile Syracuse, led by faction, was preparing a most ungrateful return for its meritorious officers. Hermocrates and his collegues, for he had not been intrusted alone with the chief command, were not only superseded, but, without a trial, without an opportunity to speak for themselves, and while they were ignorant even that they were accused, banishment was decreed against all. The news of their being deprived of the rights of citizens, in their own country, reached them just as their good deeds had procured an extension of the rights of citizenship to every one of their fellowcountrymen; a privilege indeed little likely to be very advantageous to many individuals, but honorable to the commonwealth, as well as to the generals and army for whose sake it was given. The troops and seamen were called together, and Hermocrates spoke, for himself and his collegues. 'Irregular as the proceedings 'against them,' he said, 'had been, and unjust 'as the condemnation, they should nevertheless 'submit to the voice of their country; and, as 'their legal authority was abrogated, and their 'appointed successors not arrived, it would be 'proper for the armament to elect their own com-'manders for the interval.'

s. 19.

His speech was answered with shouts from the soldiers and seamen, declaring their approbation of the conduct of their present generals, and their indignation at the illegal sentence against them. The principal officers not only declined to offer themselves for the command, but in the name of the whole armament, desired that Hermocrates and his

collegues would hold it till the new generals should arrive. These, in reply, admonished to avoid whatever might bear any appearance of sedition. 'The 'time will come,' they said, 'when, in a constitu- 'tional manner, we shall desire your honest support 'to us against a malicious prosecution. You will 'then declare how many battles you have fought, 'how many ships you have taken, what general 'success has attended you under our command; 'and you will relate the testimony of the whole 'confederate armament to your merit and ours, 'manifested in the post of honor which has been 'constantly assigned to us, upon all occasions, by 'sea and land.' The admonition had the full effect proposed from it. Nothing disorderly insued. A unanimous declaration only was made, that the generals were without blame, and the request was persisted in, that they would hold the command till their appointed successors arrived. Soon afterward Demarchus, Myscon, and Potames, came from Syracuse, and the command passed into their hands without any commotion. The armament however showed that they would not have suffered any violence to the persons of their former generals; and most of the trierarcs entered into an agreement, upon oath, to exert themselves, on returning to Syracuse, for procuring their restoration to their country.

SECT. VIII.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 1. s. 20.

History affords few examples of so warm an attachment, in an armament, to the persons of their generals, united with so just a consideration of the welfare of the country, and of the constitutional authority of those to whose party principles they were adverse, and with whose measures they were highly and justly dissatisfied. Hermocrates, dismissed from his command, was still capable of serving the

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Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 1. s. 22.

common cause, and of promoting those measures for ruining the power of Athens, for which he had long been zealous. He went to Lacedæmon, where he was honorably received, and he explained to the government there the state of things in Asia; particularly the conduct, the character, and the designs of the Persian satraps, the frank generosity of Pharnabazus, and the crafty interestedness of Tissaphernes[22]. Having thus confirmed the resolution to carry on the war, and opened views to the means, and at the same time strengthened his own interest among the principal men of Lacedæmon, which might be important toward the promotion of his views at Syracuse, he returned to Asia, where Pharnabazus received him with distinguished friendship. Not waiting for solicitation, the generous Persian was forward to relieve his wants and promote his wishes; especially giving money unasked. Hermocrates, thus furnished with means, prepared triremes and hired seamen, to assist the common cause in which already he had shown so much zeal and ability; and to assist afterward, if occasion should be, the party with which he was connected in his own country, and promote his restoration.

[22] In consequence of the defective connection, already noticed, of the beginning of the narrative of Xenophon with the end of that of Thucydides, it seems not perfectly clear whether a second journey of Hermocrates to Lacedæmon is here intended, or the account relates only to that before noticed from Thucydides.

SECTION IX.

Effects of the Naval Successes of the Athenians. Reinforcement under Thrasyllus: His Transactions on the Ionian Coast. Winter Campain of Alcibiades. Defeat of Pharnabazus. Weakness of the Lacedæmonian Administration.

SECT. IX.

THE affairs of Lacedæmon were at this time ill-administered; while Athens, so lately supposed ruined in Sicily, and since upon the point of bringing destruction upon herself, was again raised toward a superiority over the Peloponnesian confederacy tho the Peloponnesian confederacy was supported by the wealth of Persia. The effects of returning prosperity spred: a party in Thasus, in the Athenian interest, rose upon the Lacedæmonian harmost, and expelled him, together with those citizens who principally favored the Peloponnesian cause. Pasippidas, who had been sent from Lacedæmon to take the command-in-chief on the Asiatic station, and had collected a small squadron at Chios, was accused of being privy to the revolt induced by bribes from Tissaphernes. What interest of Tissaphernes this measure was to promote, does not appear; but the accusation so far had credit at Sparta, that Pasippidas was recalled and banished, and Cratesippidas was sent to succeed him in the command.

B.C. 411. Ol. 91. 2. Winter.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 2. s. 23.

About the same time an occurrence within Attica itself, otherwise little important, contributed to raise the spirits of the Athenian people, and to confirm the hope which had begun to revive among them, that they should be finally superior in the war. Agis, marching out of Deceleia for plunder, approached Athens. Thrasyllus, taking the command as a general of the establishment, led out the whole force of the city, and formed for battle near the

s. 24.

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gymnasium of the Lyceium. Agis had apparently not expected such a measure, only because in the whole course of the war the Athenians had hitherto avoided it. Being probably now not strong enough prudently to meet their numbers, he withdrew hastily; and the Athenian light-armed, following his retreat, made some slaughter of his rear. Great credit was given to Thrasyllus for his conduct on this occasion. The reïnforcement for the armament in the Hellespont, which it was his principal business in Athens to request, was voted with alacrity; a thousand heavy-armed, a hundred horse, and fifty triremes; and he was authorized to select the heavy-armed from among the citizens inrolled for that service. To give more security then to the communication by sea from Athens eastward, particularly with Eubœa, and perhaps to afford some protection to the silver-mines of Laureium, Thoricum, near the Suniad promontory, was fortified, and a garrison established there.

Agis, not a prince of shining abilities, had however the merit of diligence in his command. On his first appointment, he seems to have been highly satisfied with it; but the late turn in the fortune of war, in favor of Athens, was likely to render it less agreeable. Hitherto he had had a decided superiority: all Attica was either under his orders, or liable to the terror of his arms; and even the glory of conqueror of Athens seemed within his hope. But should the Athenians acquire a decided superiority in the Hellespont and on the Asiatic coast; should Alcibiades then return with his powerful fleet and troops flushed with conquest; and should the Persian satrap not furnish money to inable the Lacedæmonians to maintain, together with a powerful fleet, such a force through the year in Decelcia, as the

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supplies to be obtained from their own confederacy certainly would not inable them to maintain; he might be reduced to act on the defensive, and risk even to be without means to defend himself. Urged by these considerations, he sent a remonstrance to the government at home. It was to little purpose, he observed, that he and the army with him, had been so long using their diligence, by land, to deprive Athens of the produce of Attica, if the sea could furnish the city with that plenty, which, before his eyes, was continually passing into the harbor of Peiræus. He therefore proposed that a squadron should be stationed at Byzantium and Chalcedon, to intercept the vessels from the Euxine (for it was from the fertile shores of that sea that Greece had long been accustomed to supply the deficiency of its produce in corn) and he recommended Cleärchus son of Rhamphias, a public guest of the Byzantines, for the command. The proposal was approved; fifteen ships were collected from the allied states, mostly from Megara, for there were none in the ports of Laconia; and, under the Spartan Cleärchus, they sailed for their destination. In passing the Hellespont three were taken by the nine Athenian guardships always stationed there: with the remaining twelve, Cleärchus was fortunate enough to reach Byzantium.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 1. s. 25.

Herod. l. 7. c. 147.

In spring the armament under Thrasyllus sailed from Peiræus. It was resolved that, before it joined the fleet under Alcibiades, something should be undertaken in Ionia. Possibly, while Alcibiades

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 2. s. 1. 2. B. C. 409. Ol. 92. 3. [28] P. W. 23.

[28] This date is Dodwell's. Xenophon is far from being equally accurate with Thucydides in marking times and seasons; but he has specified the year, here intended as an Olympic year, and, unless interpolation is to be suspected, as that of the ninety-third Olympiad; which, according to the chronologers, was the year 408 before the Christian era. I am utterly un-

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occupied the attention of Pharnabazus and the Peloponnesian commanders, some part of that rich country might be recovered to the Athenian dominion. But if no lasting acquisition could be made, contributions might be levied; and, by hostile incursions those supplies might be taken from the territories acknowleging the authority of Tissaphernes, which were no longer to be expected from that satrap's friendship. Thrasyllus, to give more efficacy to the force he commanded, armed five thousand of his seamen as targeteers. Usually they carried only light armor; but he proposed to make them act with his regular middle-armed. Having touched at Samos, he proceeded to the Milesian coast, and, debarking near Pygela, ravaged the country. A body of Milesians coming to assist the Pygelians in the protection of their property, fell upon the Athenian light-armed, scattered in quest of booty and put them to flight. But the numerous targeteers of the Athenian armament were at hand; and supported by only two lochi of heavy-armed, they attacked the pursuing Milesians, and routed them with considerable slaughter. Two hundred shields were taken, and the success was thought important enough to warrant the erection of a trophy[24].

satisfied with Dodwell's correction, in which he has followed Diodorus: I much rather give credit to Xenophon for knowing what happened in the year of the ninety-third Olympiad. But, doing so, I am unable to divide the years of the Peloponnesian war, from the time when the narrative of Thucydides ends, so that Xenophon and Thucydides may agree. Dodwell's boast may perhaps suffice for my apology: Intelliget autem operis a nobis suscepti difficultatem, qui expenderit quid viri maximi tentarint in primis Xenophontis annis, Petavius et Petitus, nec tamem operam nostram supervacuam fecerint. Dodw. Ann. Xen. in ann. Bel. Pel. 21.

[24] The SHIELD ἀσπὶς, always implies a heavy-armed soldier, Two hundred targets, πέλται, taken, would by no means have been of equal consequence, and two hundred light-armed slain would scarcely have been thought worth mention.

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Thrasyllus, however, did not follow the blow; whether he found the strength of Miletus too great, or any intelligence induced him to turn his arms another way. On the day following the action, reimbarking his forces, he proceeded to Notium, an Athenian colony; and marching thence to the neighboring city of Colophon, where a strong party favored the Athenian interest, he gained admission, and Colophon was restored to the Athenian alliance. On the next night he entered Lydia, burnt many villages, and collected much booty, chiefly money and slaves. Stages, a Persian who commanded in the neighborhood, interfered with a body of horse, but with little effect. Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 2. s. 3.

Thus far successful, Thrasyllus resolved next upon a more important enterprize; but he seems to have been too long and too open in preparation. It became evident that he had a design upon Ephesus; and against Grecian arms Tissaphernes invoked efficaciously the aid of Grecian superstition; to which, as we have seen, he had been paying compliments, that, from a Persian of his high rank appear extraordinary. He sent through the towns of his satrapy, urging that Diana was threatened, and it behooved all Greeks to exert themselves in her defence. It was not till the seventeenth day after the invasion of Lydia that Thrasyllus arrived off Ephesus. He debarked his forces in two divisions; the heavy-armed near mount Coressus; the horse, who would be but few, with the targeteers and light-armed, on the other side of the city, near the marsh. s. 4. July.

Tissaphernes had already collected a large army at Ephesus. The Asian Greeks were numerous. The Syracusans, from the twenty ships destroyed near Cyzicus, and from five lately arrived from Sy- s. 6.

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racuse, with the Selinuntines from two ships, were together perhaps five thousand men. The satrap himself headed a body of horse; and to all this were added the numerous population of the city. Such a force would not wait to be besieged by the small army of Thrasyllus. Taking advantage of his apparently faulty arrangement, in dividing his strength, they quickly overpowered his heavy-armed, pursued to the ships, and killed about a hundred. They proceeded then against the other division, less likely to make effectual resistance, and killed three hundred. For this double success they erected two trophies, and they decreed the aristeia to the Syracusans and Selinuntines. The sum given upon the occasion was considerable, and presents were besides made to individuals who had distinguished themselves.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 2. s. 7.

The spirit of Hermocrates seemed still to animate the Sicilian forces. Their conduct altogether was so acceptable to the Ephesians, that a perpetual immunity from taxes (probably those assessed upon strangers) was granted to all Syracusans of the armament, who might at any time reside in Ephesus: and the Selinuntines, having lately lost their home (for Selinus had been taken by the Carthaginians) were presented universally with the freedom of the city.

s. 8. Thrasyllus after his defeat, proceeded toward the Hellespont. While he stopped at Methymnë in Lesbos, the Syracusan squadron of twenty-five triremes (the munificence of Pharnabazus, seconded by the diligence of the Syracusan officers, having already repaired the loss at Cyzicus) was seen passing from Ephesus. Thrasyllus took four with their crews: the rest escaped back to the port whence they came. Among the prisoners one was remark-

able: he was the first-cousin of the general Alcibiades, and of the same name. He had accompanied his kinsman in his flight, when persecuted for the business of the Mercuries: but, instead of the Lacedæmonian, had ingaged in the Syracusan service; and, apparently satisfied with it, under the admirable regularity which Hermocrates had established, he continued to fight against his country. Thrasyllus nevertheless gave him his liberty. The other prisoners, being sent to Athens, were put into the stone-quarries of Peiræus, in retaliation for the confinement of the Athenian prisoners in the quarries of Syracuse. They were, however, less carefully guarded, or the prison was less secure; for, in the following winter, digging a passage through the rock, and flying by night, all escaped, some finding their way to Deceleia, and the rest to Megara. Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 2. s. 9.

The successes of Thrasyllus seem to have been very inferior to the expectation formed of his expedition; and the delay in the junction with Alcibiades, appears to have prevented that active general from undertaking anything of consequence against the enemy. Thirty triremes being stationed at the entrance of the Euxine, on the indispensable duty of collecting revenue, his force remaining in the Hellespont was unequal to great enterprize; and the occupation to which he was himself obliged principally to direct his attention, was the maintenance of his forces. The summer was far advanced when he was joined by Thrasyllus at Sestos. He appears however to have had, then ready, a plan for winter operations. He conducted the whole fleet to Lampsacus on the Asiatic shore. There the ships were as usual laid up. The town being without defence, he employed the troops in raising fortifications. But a point of honor occasioned some disturbance: s. 10. End of Sept.

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those who had been serving under Alcibiades refused to rank with those newly arrived under Thrasyllus: they had been always conquerors; those under Thrasyllus were tainted with the disgrace of defeat. Alcibiades seems not to have opposed a prejudice, dangerous only under weak command, and from which, on the contrary, abilities might derive advantage. He quartered them separately, and employed them separately on the fortifications.

From Lampsacus an extent of territory, subject to Persia, was open to inroad; but, in the neighboring city of Abydus, Pharnabazus had his winter residence, attended by a large force of cavalry. Alcibiades led his army toward Abydus, purposely to invite a battle. The satrap unadvisedly met him; was defeated, and, being pursued by the small body of Athenian cavalry, led by Alcibiades, was saved only by the swiftness of his horse and the darkness of supervening night. After this action, in which the soldiers under Thrasyllus had their equal share, the rest of the army saluted them as cleared from dishonor, and no longer refused to join them in arms in the field, or associate with them in quarters. The victory deterring opposition from the enemy, several incursions were made into the country during the winter, with some profit to the Athenians, and extensive injury to those whom the power of the Persian empire ought to have protected.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 2. s. 12.

Meanwhile the Lacedæmonian government was distracted by domestic disturbance. A rebellion had taken place among the Helots; a large body of whom, getting possession of some strong posts among the mountains, toward the Malean promontory, defended themselves with such successful obstinacy, that a capitulation was at length granted, allowing them to go and settle themselves any-

where out of the Lacedæmonian territory. While such was the derangement at home, able attention to distant concerns could hardly be. The pride of command, however, and the jealousy of their prerogative over the republics of their confederacy, did not cease among the Lacedæmonians. Little as they were able to support their colony of the Trachinian Heracleia, they were dissatisfied with that interference of the Thebans, which had probably saved it from utter ruin. They sent thither a new governor, who, in conjunction with the Thessalian Achaians, led the whole force of the colony against the Œtæans, its perpetual enemies. The Achaians betrayed their allies, the governor was killed with seven hundred of his people, and the colony was thus reduced to a weaker state than when the Thebans interfered for its preservation. SECT. IX.

SECTION X.

Important Successes of Alcibiades. Friendly Communication opened with the Satrap Pharnabazus. Embassies to the King of Persia. Return of Alcibiades to Athens.

The successes of Thrasybulus and Alcibiades having restored superiority to the Athenian arms, the next, and a most important object, was to restore to the commonwealth a revenue equal to the expences of a war, which, long as it had lasted, was not yet likely to be soon concluded. Through the measures already taken, something accrued from the trade of the Euxine: but, to secure this, a large force must be constantly SECT. X.

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employed at great expence, and yet the enemy, from Byzantium and Chalcedon, could interrupt the collectors and share the profit. Alcibiades therefore resolved to direct his next measures against those two towns. They being recovered, the whole revenue from the trade of the Euxine would accrue to Athens, and her dominion, on the shores of the Propontis and Hellespont, would be restored to nearly its former extent. A decisive superiority on the Hellespontine coasts might induce Pharnabazus to treat; Tissaphernes would become alarmed for his Ionian towns, naturally the next objects for the Athenian arms; and thus an opening might be gained for counterworking the negotiations of Lacedæmon, and stopping those supplies from Persia, which alone inabled the Peloponnesian confederacy to maintain its fleet.

B.C.408. Ol. 93. 1. P. W. 24. After 25th March. Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 3. s. 1.

With these views, in the twenty-fourth spring of the war[24], Alcibiades led his whole force to the iland of Præconnesus. The Chalcedonians had suspected that attack would soon approach them, and this movement confirmed the suspicion. Immediately they stripped their country of every moveable of value; which, however, they would not trust within their city, but committed all to the care of their neighbors the Bithynians, a Thracian hord. Intelligence of this being carried to Alcibiades, he put himself immediately at the head of his cavalry, directed a select body of heavy-armed infantry to follow, and the fleet at the same time to attend his motions; and, going

[24] Or the twenty-fifth; as observed in a marginal reading of Leunclavius, in the Paris edition of 1625, which seems founded on the matter noticed in the twenty-third note of this chapter.

to the Bithynian frontier, he threatened fire and sword to the country, if all the Chalcedonian property was not surrendered to him, together with hostages and pledges to insure peaceful conduct from the Bithynians themselves. His demands were complied with, and he then directly formed the siege of Chalcedon. SECT. X.

Hippocrates, a Lacedæmonian, commanded in that city. He had sent information of his danger to Pharnabazus, who hastened to his relief with an army strong in cavalry; but the Athenians were so rapid with their works that they completed a contravallation, from sea to sea, except where a river interfered. Nevertheless Hippocrates, aware of the satrap's approach, sallied with the whole garrison, while the Persians endevored to force a passage through the works, by the bed of the river. Thrasyllus opposed Hippocrates, and a fierce conflict was long equally maintained between them. Alcibiades in the meantime compelled Pharnabazus to retire, and then led his cavalry, with a small body of heavy-armed, to the assistance of Thrasyllus. Hippocrates was thus overpowered, himself killed, and his surviving troops fled into the town. Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 3. s. 4, 5, 6.

After this successful action, Alcibiades committed the conduct of the siege to the generals under him, and passed himself to the Hellespont, to prepare for other enterprize, and at the same time to promote that business which was unceasingly requiring his attention, often to the interruption of enterprize, the collection of supplies. Meanwhile Pharnabazus, finding himself unable to relieve Chalcedon, sent proposals to the generals commanding the siege. His connection with the Peloponnesians had not answered his expec- s. 7.

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tation: they had been defeated in every action they had attempted; several of the Grecian towns which acknowleged his dominion and their alliance, were already taken; the fate of Chalcedon was sure, if not prevented by a treaty; if the maritime towns of Æolis should next be attacked, he was unable to protect them; and to judge of the future by the past, the Lacedæmonians were equally unable. His overtures were accepted by the Athenian generals, and an accommodation was shortly concluded on the following terms; 'that Pharnabazus should pay twenty talents, 'about four thousand pounds, as ransom for 'Chalcedon: that the Chalcedonians should in 'future pay tribute to Athens as formerly, and 'should also pay all the arrears of tribute: that 'Pharnabazus should conduct ambassadors from 'Athens to the king: that till the return of the 'ambassadors, the Athenians should commit no 'hostilities against the Chalcedonians.' Apparently Chalcedon was to be considered still within the satrapy and under the protection of Pharnabazus; as formerly we have seen Potidæa tributary to Athens, while under the sovereinty of Corinth.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 3. s. 8.

Meanwhile Alcibiades, having assembled the whole Grecian military force of the Chersonese, and a body of Thracian foot, with between three and four hundred horse, (for he had property in the Chersonese, and great personal interest among both Greeks and Thracians there) he made himself master of Selymbria, on the northern coast of the Propontis, and was taking measures to form the siege of Byzantium. Pharnabazus, informed of his approach, sent to require his ratification of the agreement concerning Chalcedon. That agreement seems

to have corresponded with the views of Alcibiades; but he nevertheless refused to confirm it by his oath, unless the satrap would enter into reciprocal obligation with the same ceremony; meaning, apparently, to assert his claim to equal rank. Pharnabazus however consenting, he crossed to Chrysopolis; where two Persians, Metrobates and Arnapes, attended to receive the oath from him, while Euryptolemus and Diotimus waited upon the satrap for the same purpose in Chalcedon. This public ceremony being concluded, private compliments and mutual assurances passed, that might form the foundation of an intercourse of friendship.

SECT. X.

The next business to be arranged was that of the embassy to the Persian court. Euryptolemus and four other Athenians were appointed, together with two Argians. Intelligence of this being communicated to the Lacedæmonian generals at the Hellespont, excited considerable jealousy there. An embassy from Sparta was already at Susa; but application was nevertheless made to Pharnabazus, that other ministers might go at the same time with the Athenian and Argian, which he readily granted. Of no great abilities, but of an open generous disposition, averse to wily policy, the satrap seems to have meant equal friendship to both parties, and to have proposed no advantage to himself but what might arise from general esteem. Pasippidas, the commander-in-chief, put himself at the head of the Lacedæmonian embassy; Hermocrates, the Syracusan, and his brother, Proxenus, still exiles from their country, accompanied him. Cyzicus was the appointed place of meeting for all, and Pharnabazus in person undertook to be their common conductor.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 3. s. 9.

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Matters being thus settled for the country on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont, so that his satrapy was in peace, Pharnabazus appears not to have concerned himself about Byzantium. The Lacedæmonian, Cleärchus, commanded there. In addition to the inhabitants, he had some troops from old Greece, a small body of Lacedæmonians of those called Periœcians and Neodamodes, some Megarians under Helixus, and some Bœotians under Cyratadas. The Athenians attempted all the modes of assault, known in that age, without success; but they completed a contravallation, and the place was soon pressed by famine.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 3. s. 10, 11, 12.

Thus reduced to distress, while the Peloponnesian commanders, who should have endevored to relieve them, were passive, Cleärchus formed the bold project of going himself to infuse vigor into their counsels, and collect a fleet with which to make a diversion, such as might compel the Athenians to raise the siege. He depended upon money from Pharnabazus. There were some triremes in the Hellespont, which Pasippidas had stationed for the protection of the maritime towns; some were just completed at Antandrus; Hegesippidas commanded a squadron on the Thracian coast. All these he proposed to assemble, and to promote the building of more. But Cleärchus, tho an able man, wanted the policy of Brasidas. Thucydides informs us, that the fame of the conciliating and liberal conduct of Brasidas was extensively serviceable to the Lacedæmonian cause, long after his death: Brasidas was considered as an example of the Lacedæmonian character; generally to the grievous disappointment of the people who allied themselves with Lacedæmon; for the governors or superintendents, placed in every city with

the modest title of Harmostes, Regulator, assumed almost universally a despotic authority. Cleärchus was not less despotic than the rest. When provisions began to fail in Byzantium, his soldiers from old Greece were still supplied; the Byzantine people were disregarded. General discontent insued: an Athenian party had always existed in the city; it now gained strength, and the absence of Cleärchus added incouragement. While famine grew more and more pressing, communication was managed with Alcibiades; a gate was opened for him by night; the Athenian troops entered; and Helixus and Cyratadas, to whom the command had been committed by Cleärchus, after some resistance, were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners.

SECT. X.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 3. s. 13.

The services which, by the reduction of Byzantium, Alcibiades had completed for his country, less brilliant than some, were yet perhaps, in importance, equal, and, by the union of ability and vigor displayed in an extensive and complicated command, even superior to what any Athenian or any Greek had ever before performed. When the forces first placed him at their head, Athens scarcely commanded more territory than its walls inclosed; revenue was gone, and the commonwealth depended for existence upon its fleet, which was at the same time dispirited and mutinous. He had restored loyalty to the fleet; he had restored dominion to the commonwealth; he had destroyed the enemy's fleet; and, under his conduct, the navy of Athens again commanded the seas: and, what was not least among the services, his successes and his reputation, without solicitation or intrigue, had conciliated the adverse satrap Pharnabazus, and opened probable means for checking those sources of supply to the

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enemy, the failure of which would restore to Athens certain superiority in the war. In this state of things he thought he might with advantage revisit his country, whence he had been absent six years; and he proposed at the same time, as winter was approaching, to gratify the greater part of his forces with means of seeing their friends, and attending to their domestic concerns.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 4. s. 4.

These being his purposes, after he had settled the affairs of Byzantium, and the other dependencies of the commonwealth on the Propontis and the Hellespont, he led the armament to Samos. Thence he sent Thrasybulus with thirty ships to the Thracian coast; and, the restored reputation of the Athenian arms seconding the measures of that active and able officer and statesman, all the cities which had lately revolted were quickly recovered. Alcibiades went himself with twenty ships to the Carian coast; and, in tribute or contribution, collected a hundred talents, about twenty thousand pounds, for the public treasury. On his return to Samos, reserving twenty ships, he sent the rest, under the conduct of Thrasyllus, to Attica. There was yet a strong party in Athens so inveterately inimical to him, tho since the last revolution it had less dared to show itself, that he would not venture thither till the temper of the people should be more completely manifested, in the reception of the returning fleet. Meanwhile he went with his squadron to the coast of Laconia, under pretence of gaining intelligence of the enemy's designs, and of observing what was going forward in the port of Gythium.

s. 5.

Information from his confidential friends reached him at sea, that he had been elected general of the commonwealth, and that Thrasybulus, who

s. 4.

was also absent, and Conon alone of officers present, were appointed his collegues. Upon this he made immediately for Attica. It happened that he entered the harbor of Peiræus on the day of the Plynteria, a kind of mourning religious ceremony, when the statue of Minerva was veiled; and, tho to any other Greek, such was Grecian superstition, not esteemed unlucky, on that day no Athenian dared transact any important business. Many people, as the cotemporary historian tells us, considered this as an ill omen, both to Alcibiades and to the commonwealth. SECT. X. Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 4. s. 5. 25 Sept.

Nevertheless, the approach of Alcibiades being announced, a vast crowd attracted by curiosity, both from Peiræus and from the city, assembled about the port. The general language was, 'that Alcibiades was the most meritorious of citizens: that 'his condemnation had been the wicked measure of 'a conspiracy of men, who scrupled nothing to 'promote their own interest: that his abilities were 'transcendent; his liberality unbounded: his opposition to his country had been forced; his eagerness to return to its service proved his patriotic 'inclination. As for danger to the democracy, 'men like him had no temptation to innovate; the 'favor of the people gave him all the power and 'preëminence he could wish for. Accordingly he 'had never oppressed any: whereas his opponents 'had destroyed by assassination the most deserving 'citizens; and, if ever they appeared to possess any 'popular confidence, it was only when the death or 'exile of all better men left them without competitors for the leading situations in the commonwealth[25].' While these were the sentiments c. 6.

[5] Αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνους λειφθέντας, διὰ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγανακτῆσαι ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅτι ἑτέροις βελτίοσιν οὐκ εἶχον χρῆσθαι. This expression

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sounded by the general voice, a few were heard to say less loudly, 'that Alcibiades had alone been the 'cause of all the past misfortunes, and it was to be 'feared he would still be the promoter of measures 'dangerous to the commonwealth.' He was not yet so assured of the prevalence of sentiments in his favor, but that he approached the shore with apprehension. He even hesitated to quit his galley, till from the deck he saw his cousin-german Euryptolemus son of Peisianax, with others of his relations and confidential friends. Nor did even they trust intirely in the protection which the established government, hardly indeed yet established, could or would afford. They came prepared to resist any attempt that might be made against his person; and, surrounded by them, he proceeded to the city.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 4. s. 8.

His first business, in regular course, was to attend the council of fivehundred; his next to address the general assembly. Before both, he took occasion to assert his innocence of the sacrilegious profanations, of which he had been accused, to apologize for his conduct during his banishment, and to criminate his prosecutors. Many after him spoke strongly to the same purposes; and the current of popular favor became so evident, that not a word was heard in opposition to him; for the people, says Xenophon, would not have borne it. He was chosen, with a title apparently new, governor-general, or commander-in-chief with supreme authority[25], as the only person capable of restoring the

of Xenophon strongly marks the distinction of ranks, yet existing in public opinion, among the Athenian people, when legal distinction was most exploded.

[25] Ἀπάντων ἡγεμὼν αὐτοκράτωρ. The title of the generals of the Athenian ordinary establishment was not Ἡγεμὼν, but Στρατηγὸς. Αὐτοκράτωρ was the term by which the Greeks af-

former power and splendor of the commonwealth. So nearly allied we commonly find democracy with absolute monarchy; and not in effect only, but often in form also. SECT. X.

Soon after he was vested with this high dignity, opportunity occurred for Alcibiades to gratify the people who conferred it, and to acquire at the same time, at an easy rate, no small addition to his renown through Greece. Since Deceleia had been occupied by a Lacedæmonian garrison, the Athenians had never dared to make the mysterious procession of Ceres to Eleusis, according to the customary forms, along that called the Sacred Way: they had always passed by sea, and many of the prescribed ceremonies were necessarily omitted, or imperfectly executed. Alcibiades, with the forces from Asia, added to the former strength of the city, undertook to conduct the procession by land, and protect it in the fullest performance of every accustomed rite. He was completely successful: the train went and returned, escorted by the army, without an attempt from the enemy to give any disturbance. Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 4. s. 8.

With the new glory and new favor, acquired in this mixture of military and religious pageantry, Alcibiades proceeded to direct the inrolment of the forces and the equipment of the fleet, with which he proposed again to cross the Ægean. s. 9.

terward rendered the Roman title *Dictator*. What was the kind and degree of power committed to Alcibiades, with the title of Ἡγεμὼν αὐτοκράτωρ, does not clearly appear; but, as the Στρατηγὸς, the chief of the board of general officers, had, through his privilege of summoning at pleasure the general assembly, and of acting as representative of the commonwealth in communication with forein states, large civil authority in addition to his military command, the Ἡγεμὼν ἁπάντων αὐτοκράτωρ would of course have all those powers, and some besides which the Στρατηγὸς did not possess.

CHAPTER XX.

Affairs of GREECE, from the Return of ALCIBIADES to ATHENS, till the Conclusion of the PELOPONNESIAN War.

SECTION I.

State of the Persian Empire: Cyrus, younger Son of Darius II. appointed Viceroy of the Provinces west of the River Halys. Lysander commander-in-chief of the Peloponnesian Fleet: Seafight of Notium: and its Consequences.

SECT. I.

WHILE prosperity was restored to the Athenian arms, under the conduct of Thrasybulus and Alcibiades, the Lacedæmonians had succeeded in negotiation, which might overbalance many victories. We have little authentic information of the detail of transactions in the interior of the Persian empire: but we learn that troubles, frequently recurring, principally caused that weakness of the government, and failure of the extension of its energy to the distant provinces, whence, among other inconveniencies, the satraps of Asia Minor were reduced to the necessity of courting the Greeks, that, by assistance from one party among them, they might be inabled to withstand oppression from another. The rich kingdom of Media, we find, had revolted; but in the year preceding the return of Alcibiades, through the exertions of Darius in person, it had been reduced to submission. Apparently, in the

Xen. Hel. l. 8. c. 2. s. 12.

idea that his empire was too extensive and unwieldy to be duly and securely administered under a single government, Darius seems then to have had in view to divide it. Detaching a portion, as an apanage for Cyrus, his younger son, which, under able conduct, might form a very powerful kingdom, he could still leave, for his eldest son, Artaxerxes, an empire scarcely less powerful, inasmuch as it would be more compact and manageable, than what himself commanded. After the recovery of Media, the provinces bordering on the Grecian seas principally demanded his attention. But, growing infirm as he advanced in years, he found repugnance to undertake the troublesome task of regulating matters duly in regard to that nation of little military republics, by which, for near a century, himself and his predecessors had been constantly troubled, and sometimes materially injured. He therefore resolved to commit the business to Cyrus; a youth of great hopes; who seems to have wanted only a better education to have made him a great prince; but whose active and ambitious temper, never duly either restrained or directed, gave disturbance and excited jealousy in the seat of government. SECT. I.

Such nearly was the state of things in the Persian court, when a Lacedæmonian embassy arrived there; having made the journey apparently through the assistance of Tissaphernes. The political circumstances of the empire had prepared a good reception for them. Being then uncontradicted probably in their assertions, as without competition in their solicitation, and paying their court ably and successfully to the young prince who was going to assume the command of the western provinces, they obtained the declared favor of the monarch to their confederacy; and particularly to Lacedæmon, Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 2. s. 1.

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in opposition to Athens. This important point being gained, they set out on their return to the coast of Lesser Asia.

B.C. 408. P. W. 24. Meanwhile Pharnabazus, with those ambassadors, Athenian and Peloponnesian, whom he had undertaken to conduct to Susa, had proceeded in autumn as far as Gordium in Phrygia, where he passed the winter. In spring he was proposing to prosecute the journey, when the other ambassadors arrived on their return, accompanied by Persian officers commissioned to announce the approach of Cyrus, to take the command of the western provinces. This stopped Pharnabazus. Cyrus arriving soon after, the Athenian ministers applied themselves to win the favor of that prince, and ingage him to their country's cause; but finding him immoveably attached to the Peloponnesians, they desired to prosecute their journey to the Persian court. Pharnabazus would still have assisted them, but Cyrus interfered: refusing them permission either to proceed on their embassy, or to return home, he required that they should be delivered to him. The upright satrap considering himself as their sworn protector, would not give them up; but it was long before he could obtain leave to send them home[1].

B.C. 497. P. W. 25.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 2. s. 5.

It was a rule, jealously observed by the Lacedæmonian government (perhaps the treason of Pausanias might have given occasion for it) that none should hold the command-in-chief of the fleet beyond a year; and perhaps it was from a congenial principle, that the command of the fleet was not committed to the kings. After a long dearth of

[1] Our copies of Xenophon say three years; but archbishop Usher has supposed years to have been put for months by the carelessness of transcribers.

eminent men in Lacedæmon, some were now coming forward, likely to give new vigor to her councils, and new energy to her arms. Lysander, who succeeded Cratesippidas in the important command of the Asiatic station, was little of the antient Spartan; but he was formed to advance himself and his country in a polished and corrupt age, when the simplicity of antient manners had no longer its former esteem, and the simplicity of antient policy no longer its former efficacy. Receiving his appointment early in winter, he passed to Rhodes; and, taking the command of a squadron which lay there, he proceeded to Cos and Miletus, and thence to Ephesus; where, with the ships he had collected by the way, he found himself at the head of a fleet of seventy triremes. SECT. I. B.C. 408. P. W. 24. Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 5. s. 1.

As soon as he heard that Cyrus was arrived at Sardis, he hastened, in company with the ambassadors newly returned from Susa, to pay his court there; and he found a most favorable reception. The prince told him, 'that it was equally his father's command and his own inclination, to join 'the Lacedæmonians in zealous prosecution of the 'war against Athens; that he had brought with 'him five hundred talents, about a hundred and 'twenty-five thousand pounds sterling, for the particular purpose; and he would not spare his own 'revenue in the same cause;' adding, in the warmth of youthful zeal, and in the hyperbolical manner of the east, that he would 'cut up the 'throne on which he sat,' (which was of solid silver and gold,) 'rather than means for prosecuting 'the war should fail.' In the treaty concluded with the Persian court, it was stipulated, that the king should allow thirty Attic mines for the monthly pay of every trireme; which made three oboli, not B.C. 407. P. W. 25. Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 5. s. 2. Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 5. s. 3 & 4.

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quite fourpence sterling, for each man daily[2]. Incouraged by the prince's free promise, and not yet accustomed to the extravagance of oriental diction, Lysander proposed, that an Attic drachma, which was eight oboli, nearly tenpence sterling, should be allowed for daily pay to every seaman. 'The increase of expence,' he said, 'tho it might on a hasty view appear profuse, would in the end be found economical; inasmuch as the desertion that would insue among the enemy's seamen would, beyond all things, accelerate a happy conclusion of the war.' Cyrus, who had not expected that such advantage would be taken of his warmth of expression, answered nevertheless, with much politeness, 'that he doubted not the proposal was founded on 'a just view of things, but he could not exceed the 'king's command.' Lysander, with the complacency of a courtier already formed, implicitly assented; and the prince, satisfied altogether with his behavior, invited him to supper. Wine usually circulated freely at a Persian entertainment, and Cyrus did not always stint himself to moderation. Lysander's manner and conversation were insinuating; the prince's spirits were elevated; and, drinking to Lysander after the Persian manner, he asked 'what 'he could do for him that would give him most 'satisfaction?' Lysander answered, 'that nothing 'would gratify him equally with the addition of a 'single obolus to the seamen's daily wages.' Pleased with the apparent disinterestedness and generosity of the Spartan general, the prince consented, and the pay was augmented accordingly. The ar-

Xen. Anab.

Xen. Hel. ut ant.

[2] This, if all were paid alike, would give two hundred and sixty-six men to every trireme. Commonly we find, in the Grecian service, the pay of inferior officers and privates the same, and that of superior officers only double.

mament was of course highly gratified; and, whether his influence with the prince was considered, or his generous preference of the common welfare to his private emolument, for which such an opportunity seemed offered, very great credit accrued to Lysander. SECT. I.

The people of Athens were not apprized of the acquisition of the alliance of Persia by the Peloponnesian confederacy, when Alcibiades, in the third month after his return, sailed again from Peiræus. His armament consisted of fifteen hundred heavy-armed foot, a hundred and fifty horse, and a hundred triremes. Aristocrates and Adeimantus were appointed generals of the landforces under him. He directed his course first to Andros, which had revolted. The ilanders, assisted by a small body of Lacedæmonians, were rash enough to meet him in the field. They were defeated with some loss; but Alcibiades, finding their walls too strong to be readily forced, satisfied himself for the present, with erecting a trophy for the little success obtained, and proceeded with his armament to Samos. Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 4. s. 9. s. 10.

The intelligence which greeted him on his arrival, of the treaty concluded by Lacedæmon with Persia, the treatment of the Athenian ministers, and the favor of the young prince toward the Lacedæmonians, was highly unwelcome, and threw a damp on the spirits of the whole armament. It was not the military force, but the wealth of Persia, that was dreaded, as it would give efficacy to the military force of the Peloponnesian confederacy; and a greater portion than before of that wealth was now likely to be ready, for purposes of hostility to Athens. The active mind of Alcibiades was immediately turned to counterwork the effect of the Lacedæmonian negotiation, and circumstances af- c. 5. s. 5.

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fording hope occurred. According to the antient policy of the Persian empire, the satraps, within the extensive country which was put under the command of the prince, retained still a share of independent authority in their respective satrapies. Nevertheless Tissaphernes, in a manner eclipsed by the prince's superior rank and power, and the greater splendor of his court, fell comparatively into neglect and contempt, particularly with the Lacedæmonians. Hence, notwithstanding his late injurious treatment of Alcibiades, it was thought interest might now possibly reünite him with the Athenians, and through him means might be obtained for negotiation, from which some advantage might be drawn. Tissaphernes was actually gained; but he was in no favor with Cyrus, and all his endevors to procure a reception for Athenian ministers were ineffectual.

This turn of things greatly injured Alcibiades both with the armament at Samos and with the people at home. His promises of Persian assistance, which he, and he only, could procure, had first and principally led to his restoration. That assistance alone, he had said, and his confidential friends had always maintained, could save the commonwealth. Not only these promises had totally failed, but that important assistance had accrued to the enemy; and in a greater degree than he could ever promise it to Athens. He felt these circumstances, and was hurt by the temper of the armament which followed. His naval force was yet superior to that of the enemy; but quick decision alone probably could either secure his own situation in command, or avert impending ruin from the commonwealth. He led his fleet therefore to Notium, on the Asiatic shore, within view of Ephesus,

where Lysander lay. Information came to him that Thrasybulus, who had wintered with his squadron in the Hellespont, was employed in fortifying Phocæa on the Æolian coast. Possibly Alcibiades thought it might be advantageous to withdraw himself, till the moment offered for important action. He left his fleet, however, to go and concert measures with Thrasybulus, intrusting the command to Antiochus, but with strict orders to avoid a general engagement.

SECT. I.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 5. s. 6, 7.

During his absence, Antiochus, whether actuated by honest but injudicious zeal, or coveting a glory to which he could not honestly aspire, went with a few triremes to the harbor of Ephesus, as if to explore; but passed by the very prows of some of the enemy's fleet, as if to provoke pursuit. Lysander who had now ninety triremes, was yet employed in improving the strength and condition of his fleet, without meaning to seek an action. The conduct of Antiochus induced him to order a few galleys to be hastily launched and manned, and to pursue. Notium was so near that this movement could be seen there, and a superior force presently advanced to relieve Antiochus. Lysander being prepared, led out his whole fleet. The Athenians, not equally prepared, hastily, and as they could, in the exigency of the moment, put all their ships in motion. Lysander began the action with his fleet regularly formed. The Athenians, one after another endevoring to get into the line, maintained the fight for some time, in a confused and scattered manner, but at length fled for Samos. Fifteen of their ships were taken, but most of the men escaped: a few were made prisoners; Antiochus was among the killed. Lysander erected his

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trophy upon the headland of Notium, and carried his prizes to Ephesus.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 5. s. 9.

This was a most mortifying event for Alcibiades. He hastened back to his fleet, and, highly anxious to repair its disgrace, he went to the mouth of the harbor of Ephesus, and offered battle. Lysander however, being considerably inferior in force, would not move, and Alcibiades returned to Samos.

Plut. vit. Alcib.

The policy of the Lacedæmonian government seems to have met the vanity of Lysander, in the endevor to give more than its due splendor to the victory of Notium. Nine statues were dedicated at Delphi on the occasion, the effigies of Lysander himself, of Hermon the master of his ship, and of Abas his soothsayer, with those of Castor, Pollux, Juno, Apollo, Diana, and Neptune. That victory, little in itself, became important, as Plutarch justly observes, by its political consequences. The credit of Alcibiades had already received injury among the ill-judging multitude of Athens. They held that he ought not to have left the revolted iland of Andros unsubdued: yet there can be no doubt but he would have been inexcusable in wasting the time of his powerful armament upon that little object, when concerns of importance so beyond comparison greater to the commonwealth, called him to the Asiatic coast. His commission excused him from that constant communication with the people, usually required of Athenian generals: but it might nevertheless be not difficult to persuade the people, that the neglect of such communication was disrespectful, and marked an unbecoming arrogance: nor is it indeed improbable that Alcibiades may sometimes have used the ample powers committed to him, in a more lordly style

Pausan. l. 10. c. 9. s. 18.

than prudence would justify. But as Plutarch continues to observe, his very glory injured him: the people expected that nothing should resist the man to whom, whether serving or opposing his country, all had seemed hitherto to yield. When information came that he had quitted Andros without subduing it, they bore the immediate disappointment; but it was with the daily expectation of intelligence that Chios and all Ionia were conquered. When therefore the news arrived that the fleet had fled before an inferior force, with the loss of fifteen ships, Athens was in uproar. Intelligence of a much more threatening misfortune, the alliance of Persia with Lacedæmon, communicated at the same time, made no comparable impression. The enemies of Alcibiades took immediate advantage of the popular temper; and those in the city were assisted by some who came from the fleet for the purpose. Of these Thrasybulus son of Thrason, mentioned on this occasion only in history, principally distinguished himself. An assembly of the people being convened, and curiosity eager for the detail of an unexpected and alarming event, Thrasybulus mounted the bema, and exclaimed vehemently against the commander-in-chief: 'His 'pride,' he said, 'was intolerable, and his negli- 'gence of the public service shameful. His abili- 'ties indeed were great, but he was continually 'quitting the fleet: and while he pretended to be 'employed in raising contributions for public ser- 'vice, his time was spent among Ionian courtezans, 'in the indulgence of the most extravagant luxury. 'In a station in view of the enemy's fleet, he had 'intrusted a command, involving the being of the 'commonwealth, to men who had no merit, but 'that of flattering his pride and ministering to his

SECT. I.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 5. s. 10.

Plut. vit. Alcib.

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'desires. The late ignominious disaster had had no 'other source. As for any regard for Athens or the 'Athenian people, it was evident he had none; and 'if, in consequence of a better knowlege of him, 'their partiality toward him should cease, he was 'prepared to do without them. While vested with 'so great a command, his attention had been more 'given to his estate in the Thracian Chersonese 'than to their service. A castle, which he had built 'there, was already prepared to receive him, in that 'second banishment which he so well deserved, 'and which he evidently expected.'

Some mixture of known truths, with the falsehood and malignity of this accusation, probably assisted to give it efficacy. There seems to have been no ground for the imputation of negligence. Indeed some of those points, in the character of Alcibiades, which were most exceptionable in his youth, appear to have been improved with increasing years and increasing experience; and, as passion cooled, and reason strengthened, and adversity instructed, the lessons of Socrates were remembered and had their effect. In his conduct since his restoration, whether in military or political business, neither rashness shows itself, nor dishonesty. On the contrary, all his projects appear to have been formed with singular prudence, as they were executed with singular vigor. However he may have failed in regard to the person to whom he intrusted the command of the fleet, during that short absence which proved so unfortunate, in every other instance his choice of assistants and deputies in command was judicious, liberal, and happy. The confidence which he continued always to give to Thrasybulus son of Lychus, and to Thrasyllus, at the same time conferred and reflected honor. But these

considerations escaped the Athenian people; called upon, in a moment of indignation and anxiety, to decide upon a matter of the utmost consequence, and plied by the eloquence of interested men, while the information necessary for due discussion of the question was not before them. Without waiting to know how their general might apologize for his conduct, or what necessity, or what view of public service might have directed it, the multitude, whose momentary will decided, without control, the most important measures of executive government, passed the fatal decree. Thrasybulus was involved with Alcibiades; and thus the two men who were by experience, added to singular gifts of nature, beyond all others perhaps then in the world, qualified to relieve the commonwealth, in its almost desperate circumstances, were dismissed from their employments. Ten generals were appointed in their room, and the long list requires notice: they were Conon, Diomedon, Leon, Pericles, Erasinides, Aristocrates, Archestratus, Protomachus, Thrasyllus, Aristogenes. SECT. I.

How that balance in the powers of government at Athens, which Thucydides mentions to have been so judiciously established, when the council of Fourhundred was abolished, had already been completely deranged, Xenophon gives no direct information; but, in the circumstances related by both writers, it remains suggested. Alcibiades, disappointed in his first great political purpose, of leading the aristocratical interest in Athens, and, through his antient family connection with Lacedæmon, extending his influence over Greece, threw himself at once on the democratical interest; with the extraordinary success, followed by the rapid reverse, which we have seen. When his country, through

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the evils which he principally brought on it, was prepared to make terms with him, he preferred an aristocratical or oligarchal party for his future support. But, finding himself presently deceived by the persons actually leading those interests in Athens, so that democracy was his only resource, it was an unbalanced democracy only that could answer his purpose; because an unbalanced democracy only would give him that plenitude of authority, which could inable him to overbear the aristocratical and oligarchal parties, so warmly disposed to oppose him. Having reëstablished himself then on the ground of the democratical interest, yet, in the necessity of absenting himself on command abroad, his power failed for controlling the movements of faction at home. How parties there were at the time divided, and how little, notwithstanding the rash vote for the deposition of Alcibiades and Thrasybulus, any held a clear superiority, is indicated in the composition of the new board of generals. Pericles was a near kinsman of Alcibiades; Aristocrates had been his general of infantry in his last command; Thrasyllus, one of his most active partizans, and among those whom, as an officer, he had most favored and trusted. But Conon, the first of the ten, a man of superior qualifications, appears to have been not his friend. Meanwhile Epigenes, Diophanes and Cleisthenes, men of high birth, but in no office, led the mob, and led it to the most despotic measures: on the vague accusation of being unfriendly to the multitude[3], some, who had taken part with the Fourhundred, were condemned without trial, by a single vote of the general assembly, and executed; many suffered confiscation of their property, some were banished,

Lys. Δῆμ. καταλύς. Apolog. p. 74. l. vel 778.

[3] Οὐκ εὔνους τῷ πλήθει.

some incapacitated for honors and public employments; some were compelled to purchase their safety. In this state of things, Alcibiades, not indeed being actually summoned, but of course to give an account of his conduct, if he appeared, and probably to defend himself against impeachment, not unreasonably avoided to trust his fate to such a judicature as the assembled Athenian people. Thrasybulus, less obnoxious to the jealousy of party, seems to have remained with the fleet, retaining the command of his trireme. Alcibiades retired to his estate in the Thracian Chersonese.

SECT. I.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 5. s. 10.

SECTION II.

Conon Commander-in-chief of the Athenian fleet: Callicratidas of the Peloponnesian. Mitylenè besieged by Callicratidas. Seafight of Arginusæ.

Conon, at the time of his appointment to be one of the new generals-in-chief, was absent, being employed in the siege of Andros, where he commanded. A decree of the people directed him to go immediately, with the squadron of twenty ships under his orders, and take the command of the fleet at Samos. It was already late in the year, and on his arrival at Samos, he found a dejection in the armament not inviting to great undertakings. Fortunately the enemy's fleet was not yet so strong as to incourage them to enterprize. His first measure then, and apparently a measure of absolute necessity, was precisely that which had been so objected to Alcibiades, as to be made a ground of his impeachment. Selecting seventy triremes, and strengthening the crews by drafts from above thirty

SECT. II.

B. C. 407. P. W. 25. Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 5. s. 11.

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more, Conon divided them into squadrons, which were sent various ways; and they were successful in executing his orders to collect contributions and plunder, in several parts of the coast of Asia and the neighboring ilands, which acknowleged the dominion of Persia or the alliance of Lacedæmon.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 6. s. 1, 2, 3.

In the insuing winter, Callicratidas was sent from Sparta, to take the command-in-chief of the Peloponnesian fleet. Callicratidas, widely different from Lysander, was one of the purest models of the old Spartan character; a zealous and sincere disciple of the school of Lycurgus[4]. On his arrival at Ephesus, Lysander told him, that he resigned to him a victorious fleet which commanded the seas. Callicratidas replied, 'Pass then with your fleet to 'the westward of Samos, and deliver up the com-'mand to me in the harbor of Miletus.' The Athenian fleet lay at Samos, and passing to the westward of that iland would put a general action in the choice of the Athenian Admiral. Lysander excused himself by alleging, that in so doing he

[4] Barthelemi has not scrupled (c. 42. p. 103, vol. 4. ed. 8vo.) on the authority of so late a writer as Ælian, given also in not the clearest terms, to affirm that Callicratidas, Lysander, and Gylippus, were all born in that class of freemen of Lacedæmon, which was of acknowleged servile origin; and he adds, 'that 'they obtained the full rights of citizens only as the reward of 'signal exploits,' for which he seems to have had no warrant whatever. He appears to have forgotten that Gylippus was son of Cleandridas, who held the high station of regent during the minority of Pleistoanax son of Pausanias, and that it was the clear dignity of a Spartan, which, according to Thucydides, made him a fit person for the Sicilian command. If we may trust Plutarch, whose authority is at least as good as Ælian's, and whose assertion incomparably more probable, Lysander was of the Heracleid family, esteemed the first in Greece. But Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, all make it sufficiently evident that, in their time, no men of servile, or any other neodamode families as they were called, could reach those high situations, under the Spartan government, which Gylippus, Lysander, and Callicratidas held.

should go beyond his duty, since the officer appointed to supersede him was arrived. Callicratidas, gratified with the implied acknowlegement that the fleet was not strong enough to meet the enemy, made it his first business to increase its force. He sent to Chios, Rhodes, and other states of the confederacy; and, having thus collected fifty triremes, which made his number all together a hundred and forty, he then proposed without delay to seek a battle.

The condescending politeness of Lysander, so different from what was usually experienced in Spartan commanders, his apparent disinterestedness, and his attention to the welfare of those under him, together with the ability he had shown in every kind of business, had rendered him highly acceptable to the armament and to the allied cities. Callicratidas had not been long in his command, before he discovered that some of the principal officers, devoted to his predecessor, were forming a party against him. They not only obeyed negligently and reluctantly, but endevored to excite discontent in the armament and among the allies. 'The Lacedæmonian system,' they said, 'was most impoli-'tic. Such continual change of the person at the 'head of things must produce immoderate incon-'venience. A most important naval command 'thus fell into the hands of men unversed in naval 'affairs; and those, who had had no communication 'among the allies, were to preside over the interests 'of the allies. The consequences would be ruin-'ous, both to the allies and to the fleet.'

The measure taken by Callicratidas to obviate this dangerous cabal, as it stands reported by the cotemporary historian, strongly marks his character. Calling together the Lacedæmonians of the arma-

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ment, he spoke to them in the following style of Laconic eloquence: 'I could be very well content-
Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 6. s. 5. 'ed to stay at home; and if either Lysander, or 'any other, pretends to more skill in naval com-'mand, I shall not gainsay it. Being however, by 'the appointment of the Lacedæmonian govern-'ment, admiral of the fleet, it is my business to act 'in that situation to the best of my ability. I there-'fore now require your advice. You know, as well 'as I, what the purpose of the government is, 'which I am anxious to have duly performed. 'Will it then be better for me to remain here; in 'which case you will give me your zealous coöpe-'ration; or shall I go home and relate the state of 'things?' This speech had in a great degree
Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 6. s. 6. the desired effect. All were anxious to obviate accusation at Sparta; and all were in consequence forward to demonstrate, both by word and deed, that they meant no resistance to the legal commands of the Lacedæmonian admiral, and no backwardness in the service of the confederacy.

The difficulties of Callicratidas, however, did not end here. His rough manners, ill accommodated to relieve, on the contrary irritated the regret of his predecessor in resigning a very high situation; and his simple and unsuspicious honesty did not conceive any political necessity for condescending communication with the man whom he came to supersede, not for any pleasure of his own, but for the service of his country. Lysander had a large sum of money remaining, of what had been committed to him by Cyrus for the pay of the fleet. Noway desirous of gratifying Callicratidas, he would not make it over to him, but, to earn credit with the prince by a display of his economy, returned the whole into the Persian

SECT. II.

treasury. Callicratidas immediately found himself in want. He made, however, no difficulty of going to the court of Sardis, to ask for a supply, which he supposed was to be issued of course: but to provide for a favorable reception by any previous intrigue or any ceremonious compliment, or to obviate any ill impression that Lysander or the friends of Lysander might have made, did not come within his imagination. On arriving at Sardis, he applied for an audience. He was answered, that he must wait two days. Patience was a Spartan virtue, and he did not immediately feel the affront. But, on going according to the appointment, he met still with procrastination; and as he repeated his fruitless attendance in the antichambers, everything he saw, the pomp, the insolence, the servility, which struck his first notice, and the faithlessness and venality, which soon became evident, all excited his indignation. At length, in complete disgust, he departed without having seen the prince, and with his business in no part done; exclaiming 'that the Greeks 'were indeed wretched who would so truckle to 'barbarians for money! He saw,' he said, 'what 'would be the consequence of their quarrels 'among oneanother; and, if he lived to return 'home, he would do his utmost to reconcile 'Lacedæmon with Athens.'

On arriving at Ephesus, his first care was to move his fleet from a place so near Sardis, and so immediately under the control of Persia. He conducted it to Miletus, whose people preserved more independency. Thence he sent a small squadron home for a supply of money. For intermediate need he obtained a loan from the Milesians and Chians, and he then proceeded to

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 6. s. 7, 8.

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employ the force he had collected, his fleet consisting of a hundred and seventy triremes. Methymnë in Lesbos was his first object, and he took that city by assault. All the effects were given up for plunder, and the slaves were collected in the market-place, to be sold for the benefit of the armament. The allies proposed the sale of the Methymnæan citizens; but Callicratidas, with a spirit of liberal patriotism, of which instances are rare in Grecian history, declared that, 'where 'he commanded, no Greek should be made a 'slave.'

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 6. s. 9.

While Callicratidas had been so increasing his fleet, Conon adhered to the different system which, on first taking the command, he had adopted, reducing the number of his triremes, to have more select crews. If we may guess at the purpose, of which we are not positively informed, he was urged by the same deficiency of supplies from home, which had not a little interrupted the operations even of Alcibiades, and, beside a strict parsimony, made every attention to the collection of contributions necessary. With select ships, and select crews, he could be quicker in his motions, make sudden attacks upon defenceless places, pursue merchant-ships or small squadrons, and avoid an enemy too strong to be opposed: and hence apparently the expression which Xenophon reports of Callicratidas, 'that he would stop 'Conon's adultery with the sea[5]; implying, that it was not by a fair superiority, but through a furtive kind of success, that Conon had appeared in some degree to command that element.

s. 10.

[5] Κόνων δὲ εἶναι, ὅτι παύσει αὐτὸν μοιχῶντα τὴν θάλασσαν.

The Peloponnesian fleet was lying at Methymnë, when Conon was seen passing with seventy triremes. Callicratidas pursuing, endevored to intercept the retreat of the Athenians to Samos. Conon fled for Mitylenë; but the Peloponnesian rowers exerted themselves with such vigor, that Callicratidas entered the harbor with him. Compelled thus to fight against numbers so superior, the Athenians lost thirty triremes, the men however escaping. The other forty triremes they secured by hauling them under the town-wall, so as to be protected from the battlements. Callicratidas, stationing his fleet in the harbor, and sending for infantry from Methymnë and Chios, formed the siege of Mitylenë by sea and land. After these successes, unasked supplies came to him from Cyrus. SECT. II. Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 6. s. 11. s. 12.

The situation of Conon meanwhile was highly distressing. The city was populous and unprovided; and not only he was without means to procure supplies, but he was at a loss for means even to send information of his distress. To attempt this however was necessary. For the defence of his triremes, lying on the beach, a guard from his landforces was placed in each. From two of them of known swiftness, he moved the soldiers[6] before day, and put, in their stead, crews of his best rowers, who gave place again to the soldiers after dark. This was repeated four days. On the fifth, at noon, the apparent inattention of the enemy, while their crews were ashore at their dinner, seemed to afford the wished-for opportunity: the two triremes pushed out of the port; and, according to orders, one directed its course westward, immediately for s. 13. Ibid.

[6] Τοὺς ἐπιβάτας. Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 6. s. 14.

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Athens, the other northward toward the Hellespont. This however could not be done unseen by the enemy. In some confusion, cutting the cables[7] of some of their ships, they were quickly in pursuit; and one of the Athenian triremes was taken about sunset the same day: the other reached Athens.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 6. s. 15. s. 16.

The exertion which the Athenian commonwealth was still able to make, after all its losses and all its internal troubles, shows extraordinary vigor in the system, which owed its origin to the daring genius of Themistocles, and its improvement and permanence to the wisdom of Pericles; yet which perhaps could never have existed, or could not have lasted, but for the well-constructed foundation, which the wisdom of Solon had prepared. The circumstances required every effort. A hundred and ten triremes were equipped and manned: but, for this, not only every Athenian citizen, within age for forein service, of the two lower orders, but many of the order of knights, who on all common occasions were exempt from naval service, imbarked; and, all being insufficient, numerous slaves were added, to complete the crews. The whole number wanted would not be so few as twenty thousand. In thirty days, however, this numerous fleet was ready for sea: the generals, before appointed, were directed, as admirals, to take the command (for, in speaking of the Greek naval service, we have continual difficulty to chuse between these titles), and under the orders of those who were at the time in Athens, it proceeded to Samos. Ten Samian triremes reinforced it there; and, requisition being sent to the other allied and subject states, for the utmost naval force that they could

s. 17.

s. 18.

[7] Τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀνακόπτοντες.

furnish, allowing no ablebodied citizens to avoid the service[8], an addition was thus collected which made the whole upward of a hundred and fifty: its course was then directed toward Lesbos. SECT. II.

At the time of Conon's defeat, Diomedon, another of the ten generals, was cruizing with a separate squadron of twelve ships. Receiving information of his collegue's distress, he made an effort, apparently with more zeal than judgement, to relieve it. Callicratidas took ten of his ships: Diomedon himself escaped with the other two. Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 6. s. 16.

The Spartan admiral was yet with his whole force at Mitylenë, when intelligence reached him, that a powerful fleet from Attica was arrived at Samos. Leaving then fifty triremes, under Eteonicus, to continue the blockade, he went with a hundred and twenty to meet the enemy. The same evening putting his people ashore, according to the usual practice, upon the headland of Malea in Lesbos, for their supper, as night came on he discovered the fires of a naval camp on the little ilands of Arginusæ, between Lesbos and the main: and, soon after, information was brought him that the Athenian fleet was there. About midnight he weighed, proposing a surprize; but, a thunder-storm coming on, compelled him to wait for day. s. 19. s. 20.

Early in the morning the approach of the enemy became known to the Athenian commanders, who immediately imbarked their crews, steered southward for the open sea, and formed their order of battle. Eight of the ten generals of the commonwealth were aboard the fleet. Xenophon informs us, but without accounting for it, that the Peloponnesian ships were at this time generally swifter than the Athenian; so that, since the first years of the war, s. 21. s. 22.

[8] Ἐσβαίνειν ἀναγκάσαντες ἅπαντας.

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the circumstances of naval action were inverted, the Lacedæmonians proposing to profit from rapid evolution, while the Athenians directed their principal care to guard against it. The Lacedæmonian fleet therefore was formed in a single line. The Athenian order of battle was remarkable: each of the eight generals commanded a squadron of fifteen ships; and the eight squadrons, in two lines, formed the wings of the fleet. The allies held the center, in a single line; and with them were posted thirteen Athenian captains; Thrasybulus, Theramenes, and another, not named, who had all formerly commanded as admirals, and ten who held the rank of taxiarc in the land service, which seems to have been superior to that of trierarc in the navy. The attention to rank, here marked by Xenophon, deserves notice, as it was less to be expected in a democracy, and as it accounts for the regularity with which the Athenian military service was conducted, while, in some of the Grecian democracies, subordination was very defective.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 6. s. 25.

s. 23. Xenophon seems to have thought the disposition of the Athenian fleet judicious, and the master of the Spartan admiral's ship, Hernon, a Megarian, apparently saw that it was. More experienced, probably, in naval affairs, than his commander, he augured ill of the approaching battle, and advised retreat from superior numbers. Callicratidas answered, with the spirit of a disciple of Lycurgus, but not with the judgement which the great command intrusted to him required, 'that his death 'would be a small loss to Sparta, but flight would 'be disgraceful.'

s. 24. The fleets met, and the action was long disputed in line. Various exertions then broke the regularity of order, and still the fight was maintained for

some time with much equality. At length Callicratidas, who commanded in the right wing of his fleet, in the shock of his galley striking an enemy with the beak, fell overboard and perished. About the same time the Athenian right, commanded by Protomachus, made an impression upon the Peloponnesian left: confusion spred to the right, no longer directed by the orders, or animated by the exertion, of the commander-in-chief; and shortly the whole fled. Above seventy triremes were either destroyed or taken: of the Lacedæmonian squadron, consisting of ten, only one escaped. Twenty-five[8] Athenian ships were sunk or disabled. SECT. II.

When pursuit ended, the Athenian admirals held a council of war, to consider of measures next to be taken. To collect the wreck and the dead, but more especially to relieve the living, who might be floating on the ruins of galleys, or endevoring to save themselves by swimming, was commonly an important business after naval action. Diomedon proposed that this should be the first concern of the whole fleet. Erasinides, on the contrary, was for proceeding immediately with the whole fleet to the relief of Conon, the primary object of their instructions. The enemy's fleet under Eteonicus, he said, were due diligence used, might be taken intire; the destruction of their navy would thus be nearly complete; and the exigencies of the commonwealth required that such an opportunity should not be lost, in the endevor to save the wrecked, which the Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 6. s. 25. & c. 7. s 3. & 10.

[8] In Xenophon's account of the battle, twenty-five is the number of ships mentioned as lost, together with their crews. In a following passage (c. 7. s. 10.) twelve only are stated to have been lost; and the context proves that in the latter passage there has been no error in transcription. Unable more satisfactorily to reconcile the contradiction, I have stated the twenty-five as sunk or disabled.

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growing roughness of the weather would render utterly unavailing. Thrasyllus differed from both: he insisted that, as the fleet was equal to both services, neither the relief of the wrecked should be neglected, nor assistance to Conon delayed. His opinion prevailed; and it was resolved that forty-six ships should remain to collect the wreck, while the rest of the fleet proceeded to Mitylenë.

There is in this affair, which had important consequences, some mystery, of which, whether party-spirit or private friendship, or whatever may have caused the reserve, it may be suspected that Xenophon knew more than he has chosen to unfold. None of the generals took the command of the large squadron appointed to the relief of the wrecked: it was committed to Theramenes and Thrasybulus, who both had held high naval commands, but were then only in the situation of captains of triremes. To make the appointment more respectable, some of the taxiarcs were ordered upon the duty with them. All the generals were in the meantime to go, with the main body of the fleet, to Mitylenë. Neither measure however could be executed. The increasing violence of the storm compelled all to seek the shelter which the Arginusan ilands afforded; and the unfortunate crews of twelve ships, wrecked in the battle, were thus left to perish.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 6. s. 25.

s. 24, 25, 26.

In the night, nevertheless, one of those small light vessels called keletes, which had attended the Peloponnesian fleet for the purpose of carrying intelligence or orders, reached Mitylenë with news of its disaster. Eteonicus, who commanded the blockade, ordered the captain to go immediately to sea again, observing the most careful secrecy, and to return into the harbor by broad daylight, with

his crew wearing chaplets, as was usual for the messengers of victory, and proclaiming that Callicratidas had destroyed the Athenian fleet. This was punctually executed. Eteonicus then, assembling his troops in sight of the Mitylenæan ramparts, performed the evangelian sacrifice, the thanksoffering for good news, and, at the conclusion of the ceremony, ordered that all should immediately take their supper. Meantime he caused his principal stores to be imbarked in the vessels of burden attending his fleet: the crews of the triremes were then hastened aboard: and, the wind being favorable, all sailed for Chios, while, after setting fire to his camp, he led the infantry to Methymnæ. SECT. II. Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 6. s. 7.

These unexpected motions of the besieging armament, which were so ably conducted as to give no opportunity for advantage against it, first intimated to Conon the defeat of Callicratidas. Hastening to launch his triremes, he met the victorious fleet already approaching from Arginusæ, and himself communicated the information that his deliverance was already complete. The fleet then went to Chios; but, no opportunity offering for any blow against the enemy, it proceeded to Samos, the usual station. c. 6. s. 28.

SECTION III.

Impeachment of the Generals who commanded at the Battle of Arginusæ.

The victory of Arginusæ, the greatest obtained by the Athenians during the war, in which, with above seventy ships, more than ten thousand men must have been lost by the enemy, might have gone far SECT. III.

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to procure final success to Athens, had Athens had a government capable of any steddiness, or even secure against acts of madness. Fruitful of superior men, she never had more citizens equal to the conduct of the greatest affairs than at this time. At least three, Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, and Conon, already of large experience in great commands, and yet in the prime of life, were scarcely inferior to any known in her annals. But, since the restoration of democracy, the people, frantic with the wild joy of recovered power, and not less mad with jealousy of superior men, were more than ever dupes to the arts of designing orators: and, like a weak and fickle tyrant, whose passion is his only law, tho no single tyrant can reälly be so lawless, were led as the flattery, or the stimulation, most in consonance with the passion of the moment, pointed the way.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 7. s. 1.

Hence followed one of the most extraordinary, most disgraceful, and most fatal strokes of faction recorded in history. Of the eight generals who commanded at the battle of Arginusæ, Protomachus and Aristogenes only remained with Conon at Samos: Diomedon, Pericles, Lysias, Aristocrates, Erasinides, and Thrasyllus, went home; little expecting what was to meet them there. Matters had been prepared by intrigues, which are known to us only by their effects. A decree of the people had deprived all the generals of their command, Conon only excepted, to whom Adeimantus and Philocles were given for new collegues. As soon as the six arrived, Erasinides was arrested. Archedemus, then the popular orator, and considered as head of the democratical interest, had preferred an accusation against him, for imbeziling public effects out of ships in their passage from the Hel-

lespont, and for other misconduct in his command; and the court[9], before which the charge was exhibited, ordered the victorious general to prison. It remained then for the other five to give, before the council, an account of transactions under their orders. At the conclusion it was moved by Timocrates, that all should be put in safe custody, to answer before the people for their conduct. The council accordingly ordered all the five into confinement.

When the assembly of the people met, Theramenes came forward as the principal accuser; Theramenes, to whom, with Thrasybulus, when in the situation of simple trierarcs, the accused generals had intrusted the command of a fleet of forty-six triremes, with the charge of saving those wrecked in the battle of Arginusæ; yet the crime now alleged against the generals was the neglect of that very duty. Xenophon has not accounted for this apparent contradiction[10]. The council, however, was evidently guilty of the grossest and most tyrannical oppression. The accused were not allowed to conduct their defence in the usual form: advantages which the law positively prescribed were denied them: and each was permitted only to make a short speech to the people.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 7. s. 3.

Thus restricted, all made nearly the same apology. 'After a most glorious victory,' they said, 'they had 'taken upon themselves a very important and urgent 'duty, the pursuit of the enemy, and the relief of

[9] Τὸ Δικαστήριον.

[10] The account of Diodorus, differing in some small circumstances from Xenophon's, agrees in the result. It assists indeed little to explain; but it tends to establish the fairness of Xenophon, who, as a cotemporary, acquainted with some of the persons concerned, and interested in the event, might otherwise be supposed liable to some partiality.

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'the besieged armament. In the meantime the 'care of the wrecked, as far as depended on them, 'had not been omitted or slighted: it had been 'intrusted to officers whom none would deny to be 'competent for such a duty, to officers who had dis-'tinguished themselves in great commands and 'arduous enterprizes. If then there had been a 'failure, those alone were fairly accountable, to 'whom the execution had been committed. It was, 'however, not their purpose to accuse: injurious 'treatment should not provoke them to be unjust: 'they imputed to none any failure in duty; well 'knowing that the violence of the supervening 'storm rendered the saving of the wrecked impos-'sible. For this there was no want of respectable 'witnesses: every master of the fleet would bear 'testimony to it: and many persons actually saved 'from the wrecked ships knew it; among whom 'was one of the generals, included in the present 'accusation.'

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 7. s. 4.

A short speech to this purpose having been made severally by each of the generals, the question was put. It was evident that the majority of the assembly was for the acquittal of the accused. But the party, which had resolved on their destruction, had on their side the presidents and a majority of the council. Their resource therefore was to procure a declaration from the presidents, 'That in the dusk 'of evening, then advanced, the number of hands 'could not be distinguished, and that the decision 'must be referred to the next assembly.' Acquiescence under this determination seems to have incouraged them to push their point, and they proceeded to move, 'That, in the interval, the council 'should consider and determine, in what manner, 'in the next assembly, the trial should be conduct-

'ed.' To move any question, when it had been already decided that the assembly could not proceed to a division, seems a strange incongruity; but the motion made shows that they depended upon the passions, and not upon the reason of the people. It was no less than a proposal for authorizing the council to dispense with the forms, established by the constitution, for the security of the subject in cases of criminal accusation. But the party was strong, and the body of the people thoughtless and impatient: the friends of the accused were apparently surprized, and perhaps fearful of irritating the hasty and unwary: the question was carried without a division, and the assembly was dismissed. SECT. III.

Having thus obviated the acquittal of the unfortunate generals, which, according to Xenophon, a majority of the assembly had actually pronounced, and which wanted only the declaration of the presidents to give it effect; having procured authority for the council to substitute, at their pleasure, any mode of trial instead of that prescribed by law, the party were still apprehensive that they might fail of their purpose; and the consequence of failure, in so violent an effort of faction, would probably be ruin to themselves. Recourse was therefore had to a kind of oratory, suited to excite that popular passion which would favor their views. It was the season of the Apaturia, a festival derived from patriarchal times, in which families assembled, and the chief of each received a kind of homage from its members. A number of persons, clothed in black, and with their heads and beards close shaven, as was customary in mourning, were procured to show themselves about the city, as relations of those lost in the storm, after the battle of Arginusæ. This artifice was not without effect among the lower

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 7. s. 5.

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people. Meanwhile, in the council, the business was managed by Callixenus, who was a member, and who succeeded to the utmost wish of his party.

When the assembly was held, to decide the fate of the generals, Callixenus came forward to report the resolution of the council, which was to guide the proceedings. The resolution, as it stands reported by Xenophon, ran thus: 'The accusation of the 'generals having been heard in the assembly, together with their defence, the council hath decreed, "That the people shall proceed immediately "to ballot by wards: that there shall be for each "ward two vases: that proclamation shall be made "by the herald, informing the people, That whoever deems the generals criminal, in neglecting to "save from the waves those who were conquerors "in the battle, must put his die into the first vase; "whoever deems them innocent, into the second: "that the punishment, in case of condemnation, "shall be death, to be inflicted by the Eleven" (magistrates whose office bore some analogy to that of our sheriff) "with confiscation of all property, a "tenth to the goddess, the rest to the common-"wealth."'

In the whole of these proceedings the oppression of the individuals accused was so flagrant, and the violation of the constitution of so dangerous a kind, that the party thought something might be still wanting, to inflame passion sufficiently among the people, and stifle just consideration. Their resources however seem to have been, according to the account of Xenophon, such that we cannot but wonder at their success. A man was produced, who declared before the assembly, 'that, having 'been in one of the wrecked ships, he had saved 'himself on a flour-barrel; and that his drowning 'comrades had conjured him, if he should escape

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 7. s. 7.

'that fate which for them was inevitable, not to let 'it pass unknown to the Athenian people, how the 'generals had abandoned those who had deserved 'so well of their country.' SECT. III.

Athens was not yet without a constitution, and laws, as well for the security of the constitution itself, as for the assurance of justice to individuals; tho faction, supported by a majority in the assembly, might sometimes violate both. The friends of the generals therefore did not yet give up their defence, in which Euryptolemus son of Peisianax took the leading part. Nor was there wanting a considerable body among the people disposed to support him, when he remonstrated against the violation of the constitution, attempted by the decree of the council, and declared that he would cite Callixenus to answer, according to law, as the proposer. The resource of the opposite party was still in popular passion. They directed their rhetoric to the jealous temper of democracy: 'It was intolerable,' they said, 'for an individual to presume to set limits to 'the authority of the people;' and immediately an angry multitude vociferated, 'that it was intolerable 'for an individual to prescribe bounds to the will of 'the people.' Thus incouraged, Lyciscus, one of the leading men, declared, 'that whoever should 'presume to check the authority of the assembly, 'he would move that his fate should be decided by 'the same ballot with that of the generals.' The assembly upon this was again in uproar. Euryptolemus feared, by irritating the multitude, to injure the cause he meant to defend, and, retracting his proposed citation of Callixenus, declared his submission to the will of the people. Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 7. s. 8.

This legal impediment being thus violently overborne, still opposition occurred to the purpose of Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 7. s. 9.

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the prosecutors. The prytanes had the virtue to declare, that they would not put the question for a decree subversive of the constitution, and which the law forbad. Callixenus, imboldened by the support he had already found, and dreading the consequences of defeat in his measure, again mounted the bema, and, addressing the people, accused the prytanes of refusing their duty. The multitude, with renewed jealousy of their ill-conceived and undefined rights, indignantly called for those to appear, who resisted the orders of the people. The virtue which had incited to oppose a measure so destructive of the constitution, and so iniquitous toward individuals, then yielded to fear; and the prytanes, with only one very remarkable exception, obeyed the tyrannical command. The son of Sophroniscus, Socrates, who was of their number, persisted in declaring, that nothing should move him to act otherwise than according to law. But his collegues consenting to propose the question, the ballot was taken according to the resolution of the council.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 7. s. 9. & mem. Socr. l. 1. c. 1. s. 18. Plat. apol. Socr. p. 32.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 7. s. 10.

This point being thus decided, Euryptolemus ventured again to ascend the bema; no longer to oppose the resolution of the council, but to speak in favor of the accused, as the law authorized, what the people might yet bear to hear. Fearful, however, of exciting outcry, he began with cautiously declaring, 'That his intention was partly to accuse, as well as 'partly to defend, Pericles his near relation, and 'Diomedon his intimate friend; and at the same 'time to advise the assembly what, in his opinion, 'the public good required.' Observing then no disinclination to hear him, he proceeded: 'I accuse 'them of a misdemeanor in their command, inas-'much as they dissuaded what ought to have been

'done, and what their collegues otherwise would 'have done, sending information in their dispatches 'to the council and to you, that the duty of relieving the wrecked had been committed to Theramenes and Thrasybulus, and had not been performed. This was their crime only, yet their 'collegues are involved in the accusation: a crime 'against the public it must be confessed, tho not of 'a very hainous nature; it was an act of benevolence toward those very officers, who are now 'requiting the charity by a capital prosecution, conducted in a new and unheard-of form of severity, 'against their benefactors.'

Having stated his accusation and his defence, he proceeded to his advice, which marks strongly the state of the Athenian government at the time. Frequent experience of being misled by designing men, into measures which they found occasion severely to repent, made the antient democracies generally jealous of advice given by their orators unless it flattered some passion, which in the moment swayed the popular mind. 'In what I have to recommend,' said therefore Euryptolemus, 'neither I nor 'any man can lead you into any dangerous error. 'For it must always be in your power to inforce 'against offenders, equally whether many be involved in one common judgement, or each be 'allowed a separate trial, any punishment at your 'pleasure. I therefore most earnestly wish and 'recommend, that you would allow each of the 'accused generals at least one day for his separate 'defence: and I most anxiously deprecate your 'giving confidence to those who would persuade 'you, that it can be dangerous to take time, for 'such deliberation as may produce a reasonable

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'conviction in your own minds, and that it is safer 'to trust others than yourselves.

'The decree of Canonus, that powerful sanction 'of the democratical authority, is well known to 'you all[11]. It declares, "That if any shall injure "the Athenian people, he shall answer before the "people in bonds: if he is found guilty, he shall "be punished with death; his body shall be "thrown into the Barathrum; and all his property "shall be forfeited; a tenth to the goddess, the "rest to the commonwealth." I desire no other, 'Athenians, than that the generals be tried accord- 'ing to the provisions of that severe law; and, if 'you think proper, let Pericles, my near kinsman, 'be the first to abide your sentence.

'The crimes held most atrocious among men, 'are sacrilege, and high-treason. The generals 'before you are accused of none such. But if 'the decree of Canonus is, in your opinion, too 'mild for them, let the law against sacrilege and 'treason be your guide. Even so, each will have 'his separate trial; a day for each will be divided 'into three parts: in the first you will inquire and 'determine whether there is cause for putting the 'accused upon trial; the second will be allotted 'to the accusation; the third to the defence. 'Let it be recollected how lately Aristarchus, the 'most obnoxious of those who overthrew the 'democracy, and who afterward, in his flight from 'Athens, performed the signal treachery of be- 'traying Œnoë to the Thebans, even Aristarchus

[11] Τὸ Κανώνου ψήφισμα. If there is anywhere any farther account of this remarkable law, than what we have here from Xenophon, it has escaped me. I think it is not noticed by either Petit or Potter.

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'was allowed his day, and even to chuse his day, 'for his defence. Will you then, Athenians, who 'were so scrupulously just to one whose treason 'was so notorious, and whose conduct so grossly 'injurious, will you deny the common benefit of 'the laws to those who have so signally served 'their country? Will you break down the barriers 'of that constitution by which, hitherto, indivi-'duals have been safe, and by which the com-'monwealth has become great, to deliver to the 'executioner your meritorious generals, covered 'with the recent glory of the most important 'victory that has been gained in a war of twenty-'six years? If you would consult the justice, the 'honor, or the safety of the commonwealth, you 'will rather reward them with crowns, their due 'as conquerors, than, yielding to the malicious 'arguments of wicked men, condemn them to an 'ignominious death. To what therefore I have 'at present to propose, I trust you cannot but 'assent: it is, "That each of the generals be "separately tried, according to the provisions of "the decree of Canonus."'

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 7. s. 11.

According to the forms of the Athenian assembly, the question was at the same time put upon the motion of Euryptolemus and that of Callixenus. The majority was declared for the motion of Euryptolemus; but, at the requisition of Menecles, the holding up of hands being repeated[12], it was declared for that of Callixenus. The resolution of the council being thus confirmed, in conformity to that resolution the people proceeded to ballot. The fatal vase pronounced

[12] Τσομοσαμένου δὲ Μενεκλέους, καὶ πάλιν διαχειροτονίας γενομένης.

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sentence of death against the eight generals, and the six present were executed.[18]

Plutarch relates of Alcibiades, that when, on his recall from Sicily, he avoided returning to Athens, being asked, 'If he could not trust his 'country?' he replied, 'Yes; for everything 'else: but in a trial for life, not my mother; lest 'by mistake she should put a black ball for a 'white one.' Whatever authority there may have been for this anecdote, it contains a very just reproof of the Athenian mode of giving judgement on life and death, by a secret ballot; which, without preventing corruption, admits mistake, excludes responsibility, and covers shame.

But while, under the security of our own admirable constitution, we wonder at the defective polity of a people whom we find so many causes to admire, it is not a little advantageous, for the writer of Grecian history, that circumstances have been occurring, in a nation calling itself the most polished of the most polished age of the world, which not only render all the atrocious, and before scarcely credible, violences of faction among the Greeks, probable, but almost make them appear moderate. At the same time it may not be digressing improperly to remark, that, as what has been passing in France may tend to illustrate Grecian history, and to exculpate the Grecian character from any innate atrocity, beyond what is common among other nations, there occurs also, in Grecian history, what may inable to form a juster estimate of the French character, than a

[18] Lysias mentions this transaction in his oration against Eratosthenes, (p. 123. vell 406.) and his account, as far as it goes, confirms that of Xenophon.

view of the late enormities, compared only with what has at any time passed in our own country, might lead us to conceive: and, if the inability of wise and worthy men, such as undoubtedly must have existed in France, to hold their just influence among the people, and prevent those disgraceful proceedings, appears itself a disgrace both to themselves and to the nation, Grecian history, and the extant writings of the ablest Grecian politicians, will perhaps furnish their fairest apology.

For, so many men of the brightest talents and highest acquirements, as in Greece turned their thoughts, with the closest attention, to a subject so universally and deeply interesting, not one seems to have been able even to imagine a form of government which might, in a great nation, reconcile the jarring pretensions arising from that variety of rank among men, without which even small societies cannot subsist. Our own writers, through meer familiarity with the object, as foreiners from unacquaintance with it, have very much overlooked what, in importance, is perhaps not inferior to any one circumstance in the singular constitution of our government. It was not till after the troubles in France began, that a refugee, who had been in situations inabling him to see and compelling him to observe, discovered, what, but for those troubles, would perhaps never have occurred to his notice; that 'nowhere else, 'in the world, such harmony subsists, between the 'several ranks of citizens, as in England.' Lettre au Roi par M. de Calonne.

This harmony is indeed the foundation, the firm foundation, on which the proud superstructure of the British constitution rests. Ranks vary, as much, or perhaps more than elsewhere. But no one rank has that gigantic preëminence, which can inable it

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to trample upon its next inferior. In the scale of subordination, the distance from top to bottom is great; but the gradation is scarcely perceptible, and the connection intimate. Each rank, moreover, is interested in the support of its next superior: none are excluded from the hope of rising; and, of all the various ranks, the highest is most interested in the support of all. We cannot consider without wonder, that an order of things, apparently the most natural, as well as the most beneficial, never subsisted in any country but our own.

It has not always perhaps been duly recollected, by speculative politicians, that, among the antient republics, no such order of citizens existed as that which, in Paris, after the first revolution, assumed, or, for nefarious purposes, was complimented with, despotic power; and, while the representatives of the nation were deliberating on the rights of man, trampled under foot all rights. The functions of that order of citizens were, in Athens, performed by slaves; and, without keeping this circumstance constantly in mind, we cannot but be liable to the grossest error, in applying the rules of antient policy to modern times. Those writers, who would infer that formerly the lower people in England were not free, because the lowest rank were actually slaves, attempt a fallacy upon their readers. In treating of Athens, Lacedæmon, or Rome, they would have distinguished, as they ought, slaves from citizens. It is unquestionable that, from the Anglosaxon conquest downward, the constitution of this country has been always free; and tho, in unsettled times, and especially under the first Norman kings, law might be overborne by the violence of accidental power, yet both the law, and the established mode

of administering the law, never were otherwise than highly, and even singularly, favorable to the freedom and property of even the lowest citizens[14].

Montesquieu has undertaken to foretel the fall of the English Constitution; and a credit has been given him, proportioned rather to the merit of the prophet than of the prophecy. Montesquieu, evidently, had not duly adverted to that peculiar amalgamation of ranks in England, through which all coälesce; or, if it may be so expressed, to that concatenation, by which the lowest end of a long chain is as firmly connected with the highest, as the intermediate links with oneanother. Through this advantageous constitution, England has always avoided, and it may well be hoped will continue to avoid, that violence of internal fermentation, which continually disordered, and at length destroyed the governments of Athens and Rome; and hence she has been inabled to resist the contagion of French politics, so alluring in distant prospect, so hideous in near approach, which perhaps no other Europeän government, whose mildness would allow it

[14] It seems to deserve more notice, than I think it has yet met with, that the monarchs to whom our constitution is most indebted, Alfred, Henry II. and Edward I. were conquerors. It is certainly a most unworthy slander upon those uncommon great men, as well as upon the parliaments, from Edward the first, till the time when Fortescue wrote under Henry the sixth, to assert, as often has been done, that England had no valuable constitution, and no true freedom, till the opposition to the Stuarts, or the expulsion of the Stuarts, procured them. The debates on occasion of the King's illness, in 1788, brought forward records of parliament, not only proving that the constitution was as well understood, in the reigns of Henry the fourth and Henry the sixth, as at any time since, to this day, but affording precedents for most difficult and delicate circumstances, such as the wisest, of any age, might rejoice to find established by the wisdom of their forefathers. These records, and most of the important historical matter they relate to, had escaped the notice of all our historians.

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equal admission, could, without forein assistance, have withstood.

Nor is it, I apprehend, as some political writers have asserted, of no importance to trace the freedom of the constitution of this country beyond the civil war in the reign of Charles the first. For the purpose indeed of establishing the right of the British people to freedom, it is utterly unnecessary. But, toward a clear comprehension of the constitution itself; toward a certain knowlege of the broad and deep foundation on which it rests; toward a ready and just perception of the manner in which it may be affected, through the various changes to which all human things are liable, and through some which we have already seen; extension of dominion, influx of riches, increase of population, increase of revenue, immoderate debt, and the possible reduction of that debt; toward a just judgement how far any of these changes are beneficial, and how far injurious, and when alteration or remedy may be wanting, and what, in any given circumstances, will be the probable effect of any alteration or remedy proposed; toward all these an acquaintance with the history of our constitution, from earliest times is of great importance.

If then it is to ourselves important to know the history of our constitution from earliest times, it will also be not a little important to other nations, if any such there are, who would form a constitution on the model of ours, or who would improve the constitution they possess, after our example. Nor will it be less important to those who, without any good foundation to build on, and without any valuable experience within their own country, would raise, with the airy materials of theory, a constitution more perfect than the most perfect that has yet existed upon earth. For want of attention to the breadth

and antique firmness of the basis on which our envied and truly enviable government rests, the singular manner in which the materials of the superstructure are adapted to each other, and how they are held together by their natural fitness to coälesce, the complexion of Europe seems to threaten many new and memorable lessons in politics; lessons for every order that can exist in a state separately, and lessons for nations united. Happy then those, who, gathering wisdom from the sufferings and dangers of others, can avoid the miseries which many will probably feel.

Such were the sentiments occurring on what appeared the readiest probable consequences of the state of things, in Europe, when this part of the History was first offered to the Public. The extraordinary revolution, which has insued, was, rather for the wonderful rapidity of its progress, than for its character, then less within reasonable expectation. And, in digressing thus far, I trust I have not overstepped the limits within which the writer of Grecian history may claim, not an exclusive, but a common right. A Grecian history, and indeed any history perfectly written (these volumes pretend to no such merit) but especially a Grecian history perfectly written, should be a political institute for all nations[15].

[15] As M. de Calonne's letter, referred to in the text, tho printed, was, I believe, never published, it may not be superfluous to give here, in its original language, the passage where the observation noticed occurs.

J'ignorois, lorsque j'ai commencé cette lettre, à quel point la division éclatoit déja entre la Noblesse et la Tiers Etat, dans les différentes provinces de votre royaume : depuis que je l'ai appris, j'en frémis. Vu la situation où les choses ont été amenées, il n'y a pas lieu d'espérer que la concorde puisse se rétablir d'elle-même, et sans qu'on ait extirpé les germes de dissention qu'on n'a que trop fomentés. Il faut donc y

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pourvoir par quelque moyen nouveau, puissant, et efficace. Celui que je propose est éprouvé. C'est par lui qu'il existe en Angleterre, entre les Grands et le Peuple, plus d'accord qu'il n'y en a, je pense, dans aucune autre nation ; nulle part ailleurs l'ésprit public n'est aussi marqué ; nulle part l'intéret n'a plus d'empire pour réunir tous les Etats.

Or il est constant que rien n'y contribue davantage que l'institution d'une Chambre Haute et d'une Chambre Basse dans le Parlement ; ainsi que leur composition respective, les distinctions qui les séparent, et les rapports qui les unissent. Plus on étudie cet ensemble, plus on trouve à l'admirer : Les Lords qui forment la Chambre Haute, et qui tous sont titrés (ce sont les seuls qui le soient en Angleterre) partagent dans une même association, sans préjudice néanmoins à leurs qualifications distinctives, l'honneur de la Pairie ; et c'est, sans contredit, le premier corps de l'Etat. Leur prérogative n'est jamais contestée ni enviée par les Communes, qui ont parmi leurs Membres les fils, les frères, les parens de ces mêmes Lords, et des plus grandes maisons du royaume. C'est ce mélange, cette transfusion, si je le puis dire, de la plus haute Noblesse dans le corps representatif du peuple, qui entretient l'harmonie entre l'un et l'autre, et qui resserre le nœud de leur union ; c'est ce qui fait que les deux Chambres fraternisent sans se confondre, qu'elles se contrebalancent sans se rivaliser, que l'une empêche l'autre d'empiéter, et que toutes deux concourent également au maintien de la prérogative royale et à la conservation des droits nationaux. Lettre addressée au Roi, par M. de Calonne, le 9 Fevrier, 1789, p. 67, 68.

The very great advantage, to a free constitution, of having a hereditary first magistrate, the depository of the supreme executive power, so distinguished by superior rank as to exclude all ideä of competition, has been very well explained by De Lolme; but the benefit of that singular amalgamation of various rank among the people, which prevails in England, has, I think, nowhere been duly noticed. In no court of Europe, I believe, is rank so exactly regulated, among the highest orders, as in England; and yet there is no rank perfectly insulated ; all are in some way implicated with those about them. To begin even with the heir apparent ; as a subject, he communicates in rank with all other subjects. The king's younger sons rank next to the elder, but their rank is liable to reduction : their elder brother's younger sons, if he succeeds to the crown, will rank before them. The Archbishops and the Chancellor, and the great officers of state, rank above Dukes not of royal blood; but their rank is that of office only ; the Dukes, in family rank, are commonly much above the Archbishops and Chancellor. Thus far our rule, I believe, differs little from that of other Europeän courts. What follows is peculiar to ourselves. The peers, all equal in legal, differ in

ceremonial rank. The sons of peers, of the higher orders, rank above the peers themselves of the lower orders; but, superior thus in ceremonial rank, they are in legal rank inferior. For the sons of all peers, even of the royal blood, being commoners, while in ceremonial rank they may be above many of the peers, in legal rank they are only peers with the commoners. This implication of the peerage with the body of the people is the advantageous circumstance, which has particularly struck M. de Calonne. But there is another thing which perhaps not less strongly marks the wise moderation of our ancestors, to whom we owe the present order of things. No distinction, between subjects, can be really more essential than the being or not being members of the legislative body; yet the rank of a member of parliament is known neither to the law, nor to the ceremonial of the country. Among untitled commoners there is no distinction of rank, that can be very exactly defined; and yet a distinction always subsists, in public opinion; decided partly, and perhaps sometimes too much, by wealth, partly by consideration given to birth, connections or character; which, upon the whole, perhaps more than under any other government, preserves the subordination necessary to the well-being of large societies.

SECT. III.

SECTION IV.

Sedition at Chios. Lysander reäppointed Commander-in-chief of the Peloponnesian Fleet; in favor with Cyrus. Unsteddiness of the Athenian Government. Measures of the Fleets: Battle of Aigospotamí.

SECT. IV.

B.C. 407. P. W. 25.

While Athens, by a violent exertion of power in the soverein assembly, overthrowing the barriers of the constitution, and trampling on law and justice, was preparing her own downfall, there occurred, on the Peloponnesian side, what will deserve notice, as it affords additional proof how little all Greece was prepared to receive a constitution, that could establish peace throughout her confines, and give security to all, or to any, of her people. After the defeat of the Peloponnesian fleet, in the battle of Arginusæ, the Peloponnesian cause seems to have

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Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 1. s. 1.

been neglected by Cyrus. The squadron, which had escaped from Mitylenë, remained at Chios; where its commander Eteonicus joined it from Methymnë, but without money to pay it. Accustomed as the Greeks were to subsist on military service by their own means, this gave at first no great uneasiness. In so rich an iland, the industrious found opportunity to earn something, by working for hire; and wild fruits, or those cheaply bought, were resources for the less handy or more idle; so that, in the joy of recent escape, and with the hope of speedy relief, the wants that occurred, during summer, were patiently borne. But when, in advancing autumn, clothes became ragged, shoes worn out, wants of all kinds increased, while means of earning lessened, and, as the stormy season approached, the hope of relief grew fainter, reflection began then to excite the most serious apprehensions. In this state of things the comparison of their own circumstances, with those of the wealthy Chians, was obvious to remark; and the transition was ready to the observation, that, having arms in their hands, it depended only upon themselves to change situations. A conspiracy was in consequence formed, for making themselves masters of the iland; and it was agreed that, for distinction, every associate should carry a reed.

s. 2. Intelligence of this plot did not reach Eteonicus, till the number of associates was so great, that to oppose it by open force would have been highly hazardous. If we may judge from the expression of Xenophon, upon the occasion, compared with so many of Thucydides, Plato, and other writers, which show how widely it was held, among the Greeks, that might made right, and that the useful was the measure of the honest, Eteonicus would

not much have regarded the robbery of his allies, even with the massacre that must probably have attended, if disadvantageous consequences had not been to be apprehended to his commonwealth, and blame on that account to himself. The fear of a general alienation from the Lacedæmonian cause, according to Xenophon, determined his opposition to the conspiracy; and rather an arbitrary power, conceded on the necessity of the case to military commanders, than any defined and constitutional authority, inabled him to oppose it with effect. Selecting fifteen confidential persons, and arming them with daggers, he went through the streets of Chios. The first person observed, bearing a reed, was a man with disordered eyes, coming out of a surgeon's shop, and he was instantly put to death. A crowd presently assembled about the body: and, inquiry being anxiously made, answer was, in pursuance of direction from Eteonicus, freely given, 'that the man was killed for carrying a reed.' Information of these circumstances was communicated quickly through the city. The conspirators, themselves unprepared, were ignorant what preparation might have been made against them; and every one, as the report reached him, hastened to put away his reed. Eteonicus, who watched the event, without giving time for recovery from surprize, ordered all aboard. The mark of distinction was gone; none of the conspirators any longer knew whom to trust; all became anxious to avoid crimination; ready obedience would be the first proof of innocence: and presently not a man, of either land or sea forces, remained ashore.

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Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 1. s. 3.

s. 4.

Eteonicus then assembled the Chian magistrates, informed them what a danger they had escaped, and represented the necessity of providing for the

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present wants of the armament. A supply was instantly given him, with which he repaired to the fleet, and distributed a month's pay for each man. In doing this he passed through every ship, and spoke to all the soldiers and seamen of their several duties, and particularly of the probable business of the insuing campain, as if he had known nothing of the conspiracy. All were happy to receive this tacit assurance that they were free from danger; all became anxious to show themselves zealous in the public cause: and thus, with only the death of one man, not the most guilty perhaps, but certainly connected with the guilty, a mutiny was completely smothered, which, under a hesitating commander, might not have been quelled without shedding many times more blood, and not being quelled, would have spred havoc over the richest and most populous iland of the Ægean.

Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 1. s. 5.

It was about the time when this dangerous business was so fortunately settled, that a congress of the Peloponnesian confederacy was held at Ephesus. The Chians, and probably all the Asian Greeks of the confederacy, sent their deputies particularly commissioned for the purpose. For the Europeän states, the principal officers of their respective forces mostly acted as representatives. What had been passing in Athens was unknown, or imperfectly known; and the same wisdom and spirit in council at home, the same ability and energy in operation abroad, which had so wonderfully restored the Athenian commonwealth from agony to vigor and victory, were expected still to continue. It was therefore a question of most serious concern, not only how the war should be conducted, but who should direct operations. Much would depend on the good-will and ready assistance of the

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Persian prince, and with him it was therefore deemed proper to communicate. The result of the deliberations was a resolution to send ministers to Lacedæmon, in the joint names of the prince, the armament, and the allies, with information of the state of things, and a request that Lysander might be reäppointed to the command-in-chief.

No Spartan, Brasidas alone excepted, had ever so conciliated the allied cities as Lysander; no Spartan knew equally how to render himself agreeable to a Persian prince: his military as well as his political conduct had been able, and his success against the Athenian fleet at Notium had gained him fame. At another season, nevertheless, the Lacedæmonian government might perhaps not have been persuaded to contravene a rule, esteemed important, never to commit the command-in-chief of the fleet twice to the same person. But the consideration of the great defeat they had received, and of their utter inability to support their Asiatic allies, or to dispute the command of the seas with the Athenians, without the aid of Persian money, disposed them to relax a little. Nominally however they still adhered to their principle, while by a subterfuge, they gratified the Persian prince and their Grecian confederates: Aracus was appointed navarc, admiral of the fleet, for the year: but Lysander was sent to command in Asia, with the title of epistoleus[16], vice-admiral.

Lysander, arriving at Ephesus when winter was not yet far advanced, made it his first concern to

B.C. 407. P. W. 25. Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 1. s. 7 & 9.

[16] The word seems to have meant originally an officer *sent* by a superior officer to command for him; but it appears to have become the usual title for the second in command in the Lacedæmonian service. See Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 1. s. 15. It is pretty exactly rendered by the Roman title Legatus.

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provide that, in spring, he might have a fleet able to meet that of Athens. The squadron under Eteonicus at Chios, and all other detached ships, were sent for to Ephesus, examined, and the necessary repairs directed. Measures were at the same time taken to hasten the completion of the triremes building at Antandrus; and when this business was duly put forward, Lysander hastened to pay his compliments personally to the Persian prince at Sardis. He had the satisfaction to find that absence had not diminished his interest there: he was received with distinguished attention, and treated as a confidential friend. Cyrus showed him a particular account of the sums issued for the pay of the fleet; remarked that they much exceeded what the king had given him for the purpose; but added, 'that as the country, which the king had 'put under his command, afforded a great revenue, 'and his good inclination to Lysander and the 'Lacedæmonians remained perfect, money should 'not be wanting for the prosecution of the war.'

Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 1. s. 8. B. C. 405. P. W. 26.

Lysander, returning to Ephesus with an ample supply, paid the armament all the arrears due, according to the rate before established: and, with good will thus conciliated toward himself, and zeal for the service apparent among all ranks, he was proceeding to make arrangements for opening the campain, when a message arrived from Cyrus, desiring his presence again at Sardis.

Condescendingly as the Persian prince conducted himself toward the Greeks, his haughtiness among his own people was extravagant. Assuming the tone of soverein, he required those marks of servile respect, which custom had appropriated to the monarch of the empire. The court-dress of Persia had sleeves so long that, when unfolded,

Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 1. s. 6.

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they covered the hand; and the ceremonial required, of those who approached the royal presence, to inwrap the hands, so as to render them helpless[17]. Two youths, nearly related to the royal family, refusing this mark of extreme subordination to Cyrus, were, in pursuance of an arbitrary command from that prince, put to death. Complaint was made at Susa, by their unhappy parents, and indignation was loud and general against the cruel and dangerous pride of Cyrus. Darius, an indulgent father, desirous of repressing the evil, but tender about the means, sent a message, mentioning only, that he was laboring under a severe illness, and therefore wished to see his son. Cyrus did not refuse obedience to the paternal summons; but, before he would leave Sardis, he sent for Lysander. The Spartan general, hastening to the call, was received with distinction, even more flattering than before. Cyrus expressed the warmest interest in the Lacedæmonian cause; anxiously dissuaded risking a general action at sea, without a decided superiority; remarked that, with the wealth of Persia, such a superiority might certainly be acquired; showed an account of the revenue, arising from the countries under his own command; and, directing a very large sum to be put into the hands of the Spartan general, for the expences of the war, parted with this kind exhortation, 'Be mindful of my friend-'ship for Lacedæmon and for yourself.'

Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 1. s. 9.

[17] In the East fashions change little, and the strange one here mentioned, it seems, is retained to this day. 'The be-'neesh,' says one of the most intelligent and exact of modern travellers, 'is the ceremonial dress of the Mamalukes. It 'covers very completely the whole body, even the fingers' 'ends, which it is held very indecent to show before the 'great.' Volney's Travels in Egypt.

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Lysander, returning to Ephesus thus abundantly supplied, gave a new flow to the already high spirits of his forces by another issue of pay. In the meantime, such had been the effect of his well-directed attention, seconded by an unfailing treasury, that the fleet was already equal in strength to the Athenian. He proposed therefore to proceed upon offensive operation; but not to risk the uncertain event of a general ingagement, which no necessity of his circumstances required. His view was directed less immediately against the fleet, than against the subject dependencies of Athens, the sources of the revenue by which the fleet was supported. Accordingly he led his armament first to the Carian coast, where he took the town of Cedreia by assault. His troops shared the plunder; among which were reckoned the inhabitants, a mixed race, Greek and barbarian, who were sold for slaves.

In every one of the towns on the Hellespont and Propontis, which the successes of Alcibiades and Thrasybulus had restored to the dominion of Athens, a Lacedæmonian party remained. In giving efficacy to the efforts, which such a party might be able to make, two very important objects might be at once accomplished, the checking of the revenue which supported the Athenian fleet, and the recovery of the trade with the Euxine, which furnished the best supplies of corn. The Hellespont was therefore the point to which Lysander proposed to direct his principal attention; having apparently no immediate view beyond the objects above mentioned. Desirous to avoid the Athenian fleet in the passage, he made his way close along the friendly shore of Asia, and, without interruption, reached Abydus. Of all the towns on the shores of the

Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 1. s. 11, 12.

Hellespont and Propontis, which the defeat in Sicily had given to the Lacedæmonian confederacy, Abydus alone had not been retaken. The harbor of Abydus therefore was made the station of the fleet. The city was populous; its force of infantry was added to the infantry of the armament, and all put under the command of Thorax, a Lacedæmonian. The neighboring city of Lampsacus, being then attacked by land and sea, was taken by assault. The plunder, which was considerable (for Lampsacus was rich, and large store of provisions had been collected there), was given to the troops and seamen, but the free inhabitants were not molested in their persons. SECT. IV.

The government of Athens, after that violent struggle of faction which produced the condemnation of the generals, appears not to have recovered its former consistency. It was not long after (so Xenophon says, without mentioning how long) that the Athenian people, repenting, directed their anger against those who had misled them to the atrocious deed; and Callixenus, and four others, were compelled to find sureties for their appearance before the same tremendous tribunal, which had consigned the victorious generals to the executioner. At the same time opportunity was taken to procure the recall of the banished, and the restoration of the dishonored; while the people, brought to their senses (such is the expression even of the democratical Lysias, confirming the account of Xenophon,) more gladly directed their vengeance against those who had promoted prosecutions, for interest or malice, under the democracy, than against those who had ruled in the oligarchy. Xenophon proceeds, with evident satisfaction, to relate, that Callixenus, who found opportunity to fly, and afterward

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 7. s. 12.

Lys. Δημ. καταλ. απολ.

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found means to make his peace and return, lived nevertheless universally hated and avoided, and, among those public distresses which will hereafter occur to notice, was starved to death.

Xen. & Lys. ut sup.

It was however vainly attempted, by an oath of concord, taken by the whole people, to put an end to the ferment of party. Administration was weak, and democratical jealousy interfered in every measure. The command-in-chief of the fleet was already divided between three officers, Conon, Adeimantus, and Philocles. Three more were now added, with equal powers, Menander, Tydeus, and Cephisodotus. For subsistence, the armament depended upon itself. It was indeed able to collect the tribute, assessed upon the subject-states of Asia and Thrace, and it could sometimes raise contributions from the enemy's country: but this business unavoidably ingaged the attention of the generals, to the hindrance of that enterprize, which was necessary toward final success in the war; while the Peloponnesian commanders, having all their pecuniary wants supplied by the wealth of Persia, could chuse their measures.

Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 1. s. 11.

The fleet, which the Peloponnesians were thus inabled to raise and maintain in energy, far greater than had ever formerly been seen in wars between the Greeks, made it necessary for the Athenians to assemble their whole naval force in one point; and that decisive action, which it was the obvious policy of the Peloponnesians to avoid, was possibly to the Athenians necessary. In ability for command, perhaps, Conon did not yield to Lysander; and his fleet, at least equal in number, for it consisted of a hundred and eighty triremes, and probably superior in the proportion of practised seamen among the crews, was inferior only by the division of the

s. 13.

supreme authority. Confident therefore in strength, and elate with recent victory, the Athenians passed from Samos to the Asiatic coast, and plundered the country acknowleging the sovereinty of Persia. They moved then for Ephesus, to offer battle to the enemy; but, in their way, they received intelligence that Lysander had already passed northward. In alarm for the dependencies of the commonwealth on the Hellespont, they hastened after him. Arriving at Eleus, they were informed that Lampsacus was already taken, and the enemy's fleet there. Stopping therefore only while they took refreshment, they proceeded to Sestos, where they procured provisions for the night, and arrived the same evening at Aigospotami, directly overagainst Lampsacus. The historian, describing their progress, particularizes, what deserves notice as it marks the manner of antient naval operations, that they dined at Eleus and supped at Aigospotami, where they formed their naval camp.

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Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 1. s. 11.

s. 13.

The strait between Lampsacus and Aigospotami being scarcely two miles wide, the arrival of the Athenian fleet was instantly known to Lysander, and his plan almost as instantly formed. On the same night his orders were issued. By daybreak next morning his crews had taken their meal, and went immediately aboard. All was completely prepared for action, but no movement made. By sunrise the Athenian fleet was off the harbor of Lampsacus in order of battle. The Peloponnesians remained motionless: the Athenians waited till evening, and then returned to Aigospotami. As the Athenian fleet withdrew, Lysander ordered some of his swiftest galleys to follow them, with instruction to the commanders to approach the opposite shore enough to see the enemy debark, and form some

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judgement of their immediate intentions, and then hasten back with the information. This was punctually executed. Lysander meanwhile kept his fleet in readiness for action; and, not till he was assured that the enemy's motions indicated no enterprize, he dismissed his crews for their refreshment. On the morrow these movements were exactly repeated, and so for the two following days.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 5. s. 10. l. 2. c. 1. s. 16.

Since the battle of Notium, Alcibiades had resided in his castle in the Thracian Chersonese. The two fleets in his neighborhood of course attracted his attention, and he was at least so far sensible to the welfare of his country as to be uneasy at what he saw. Aigospotami had neither town nor defensible harbor, but only a beach on which the galleys might be hauled, or near which, in the shelter of the strait, they might safely ride at anchor. The ground was commodious for incamping; but, in the defective military system of that age, the seamen and soldiers went to Sestos, two miles off, for a market. The enemy meanwhile, at Lampsacus, had the security of a harbor for their fleet, with a town for their people, where, always in readiness for every duty, they could procure necessaries. Alcibiades went to the Athenian camp, and communicated with the generals on these circumstances; observing that, if they moved only to Sestos, they, equally with the enemy, would have the benefit of a town with a harbor, and equally, as from their present situation, might fight when they pleased; with the advantage, which in their present situation they could not command, of fighting only when they pleased. This admonition, slighted by the other generals, was treated by Tydeus and Menander with unmannerly disdain, and Alcibiades withdrew.

Xen. ut sup. Plut. vit. Alcib. & Lysand.

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Lysander, meanwhile, had observed that every day's experience of his inaction increased the confidence and negligence of the Athenians. Not confining themselves to the market of Sestos, they wandered wide about the country, to seek provisions, or on pretence of seeking them. Still they continued in the morning to offer battle, returning in the afternoon to their camp. On the fifth day, he directed the commanders of his exploring ships, if the Athenians debarked and dispersed as usual, to hasten their return, and communicate notice to him, by the way, by elevating a shield. The whole armament was kept in readiness, the landforces under Thorax were aboard, the expected signal was made, and the fleet moved across the strait. Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 1. s. 17.

Conon alone, of the Athenian generals, was in any state of preparation. As soon as he saw the enemy in motion, he ordered the call to arms, and the signal for all to go aboard: but soldiers and seamen were equally dispersed; some of the triremes were wholly without hands; and the distance was so small, that the Peloponnesians were upon them long before any effectual measures for defence could be taken. Conon's trireme, with seven others of his division and the sacred ship Paralus, had their complete crews aboard; and these pushed off from the shore. All the rest were seized by the enemy, at anchor or upon the beach. No effort, within the power of nine ships, could have any other effect than adding the loss of those nine to that of the rest of the fleet. While therefore the enemy were intent upon their great capture, made without a blow, but still to be secured against the Athenian landforce, Conon fled unpursued; not unmindful, however, of such service as his strength might accomplish. Sails were an incumbrance to s. 18. Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 1. s. 19.

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the antient galleys in action. Within so narrow a strait therefore, and with his port at hand, Lysander had left those of his fleet ashore. Conon had intelligence that the store was not within the walls of Lampsacus, but at the point of Abarmis. Accordingly landing there, he carried off all the mainsails[18], and then hastening to the mouth of the Hellespont, escaped to sea.

Meanwhile Lysander, having secured possession of the Athenian ships, to the number of a hundred and seventy, directed his attention to the scattered crews and troops. Some of these found refuge in the neighboring towns and fortresses[19]; but the greater part, together with all the generals[20], were made prisoners. In the evening of the same day on which the fleet was taken, Lysander sent away an account of his extraordinary success. A Milesian privateer[21] was chosen to convey it; and the captain, Theopompus, used such diligence, that on the third day he reached Lacedæmon.

Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 1. s. 20.

s. 21. The prisoners in the meantime being conveyed to Lampsacus, it became matter of very serious consideration how to dispose of numbers, so beyond all common example of battles among the Greeks. The allies were assembled for consultation; and that animosity appeared among them, which the antient manner of warfare was likely to excite. Many accusations were urged against the Athenians, of what they had done, and what they had proposed to do. Of two triremes, a Corin-

[18] Τὰς μεγάλα ἱστία.

[19] Τὰ στυχύδρια, al. χειδρια.

[20] So I think Xenophon must be understood; and the expression of Plutarch, in his life of Lysander, tho rather loose, tends to confirm the interpretation.

[21] Μιλήσιον ληστήν.

thian and an Andrian, lately taken, the crews by order of the Athenian general Philocles, had been put to death by being thrown down a precipice. It was averred, and Xenophon seems to acknowlege it as a truth, that the Athenians, in a council of war, had determined to cut off the right hand of every prisoner to be made in the action which they were seeking. Adeimantus alone, of the generals, is said to have opposed this inhuman resolution. Many other enormities were alleged; and the council resolved, that all the prisoners who were Athenian citizens, except Adeimantus, should be put to death. Lysander, after reproaching Philocles with setting the first example, among the Greeks, of a most cruel violation of the law of war (which however, as in the course of this History we have had too much occasion to observe, was neither the first nor peculiar to the Athenians) began the execution, for so much the expression of Xenophon seems to assert, by killing that general with his own hand. The Athenian citizens, who fell victims to the vengeance of the allies, and perhaps in some measure to the convenience of the Spartan general, were, according to Plutarch, three thousand.

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Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 1. s. 22.

Plut. vit. Lys.

Adeimantus, alone saved from this bloody execution, did not escape with his character clear: it was asserted that, being corrupted by Lysander with Persian gold, he had betrayed the fleet. The charge, however, was never proved; nor does it appear how Adeimantus could have commanded the circumstances which put the fleet into the enemy's hands[22]; and the execution of the other

Xen. Hel. ut ant.

[22] We find, in the Grecian services, where a command was committed to many, it was common for each to take his day

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generals, who indeed seem never to have been accused, appears proof of their innocence. Not that the narrative of Xenophon gives all the information we might desire. The conduct, however, of the Athenian commanders, altogether seems to have been totally inexcusable; tho in what degree any one was separately blameworthy does not appear. While the command of gold, which Lysander possessed, excites one kind of suspicion, the haste and the extent of the execution, together with the little scrupulousness usual among the Greeks, may excite another. At the same time it is possible that the misconduct, in the Athenian armament, may have arisen from division of command and violence of party. To carry any steddy authority may have been impossible; and, while none could confide in the government at home, all would fear it; not for their misdeeds but for the prevalence of a faction, adverse to the faction with which they were connected.

Athens, the trap and grave of her victorious generals, would not be the place where, in the present disastrous circumstances, Conon would expect refuge for himself, or where nine ships could probably be of any important service to the public. As soon therefore as he was beyond danger of pursuit, he dispatched the sacred ship Paralus alone to bear the news of a defeat, which could be scarcely less than the stroke of death

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 2. s. 19. Diod. l. 13. c. 106.

in turn (Herod. l. 6. c. 110. et Thucyd. l. 6. c. 91.); but the historian does not say that the day of the action was the day of Adeimantus's command, or that, till the attack made by Lysander (except in the negligence of the Athenians, which had increased gradually) the circumstances of that day differed from those of the four preceding.

to the commonwealth. For himself, fortunately having friendship with Evagoras, who ruled the Grecian city of Salamis in Cyprus, he directed his course thither, with his remaining squadron, and was kindly received. SECT. IV.

SECTION V.

Consequences of the Battle of Aigospotami. Siege of Athens. Conclusion of the Peloponnesian War.

THE ruin of the Athenian marine, effected at Aigospotami, put all the dependencies of the commonwealth at once into the power of the enemy: Lysander had only to direct the course of his victorious fleet, and take possession. The command of the strait, communicating with the Euxine sea, was his first object. As soon as he appeared between Byzantium and Chalcedon, both those important places desired to capitulate. The Athenian garrisons were allowed to depart in safety; but policy prompted this apparent lenity. Lysander already looked forward to the conquest of Athens; and, against the uncommon strength of the fortifications of that city, famine would be the only weapon of certain efficacy. As therefore any augmentation of the numbers within would promote his purpose, he permitted all Athenian citizens to go to Athens, but to Athens only. Those Byzantines who had taken a leading part in delivering their city to Alcibiades, apprehensive perhaps more of their fellowcitizens than of Lysander, retired into Pontus. SECT. V. Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 2. s. 1.

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Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 2. s. 2. B.C. 405. P. W. 26.

Meanwhile the Paralus, arriving by night at Peiræus, communicated intelligence, such as no crew perhaps of the unfortunate fleet, not protected by the sacred character of the ship, would have dared to carry. Alarm and lamentation, beginning immediately about the harbor, were rapidly communicated through the town of Peiræus, and then passing from mouth to mouth, by the long walls, up to the city, the consternation became universal; and that night, says the cotemporary historian, no person slept in Athens. Grief for the numerous slain, the best part of the Athenian youth, among whom everyone had some relation or friend to mourn, was not the prevailing passion; it was overborne by the dread, which pervaded all, of that fate to themselves, which, however individuals might be innocent, the Athenian people as a body were conscious of deserving, for the many bloody massacres perpetrated at their command. The treatment of the Histiæans, Scionæans, Toronæans, Æginetans, and many other Grecian people (it is still the cotemporary Attic historian who speaks,) but, above all, of the Melians, a Lacedæmonian colony, recurred to every memory, and haunted every imagination.

Athens was not even now without able men, capable of directing public affairs in any ordinary storm. But, beside that the remaining strength of the commonwealth was utterly unequal to the force that would be brought against it, the lasting strife of faction, and the violence of intestine tumult, had nearly destroyed all coherence in the constituent parts of the government. Nothing remained of that public confidence, which, after the Sicilian overthrow, had inabled those who took the lead to surprize all Greece with new exertion, and even to recover superiority in the war. The leader of the

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soverein Many was Cleophon, by trade a musical-instrument-maker, who, treading in the steps of Cleon and Hyperbolus, had acquired power even superior to what they had formerly held. Such was his confidence in his ascendancy, that he did not scruple, in scorn of democratical equality, to assume the distinctions and pomp of command. To have a residence suited to his new dignity, he used opportunity offered by the banishment of Andocides, chief of one of the most antient and eminent families, to occupy his house. But public agony and fear inforced, for the moment, sober conduct, and a disposition to listen to those fittest to advise. On the morrow after the arrival of the fatal news, a general assembly being held, such measures were resolved on as the exigency of the moment most required. Immediate siege by land and sea was expected. To raise a fleet able to oppose that of the enemy was no longer possible. It was therefore determined to block up all the ports except one, to repair the walls, to appoint guards, and prepare every way to sustain a siege.

Isocr. de pace. p. 218. t. 2. Æsch. de legat. p. 254.

Andoc. de myst.

Meanwhile Lysander, after receiving the submission of the Hellespontine cities, sailed to Lesbos, where Mitylenë immediately surrendered to him. He sent Eteonicus, with only ten ships, to the Thracian coast, and all the Athenian dependencies there acceded to the Lacedæmonian terms. All the ilands hastened to follow the example, Samos alone excepted. The Samians, in the savage fury of democracy, answered the summons by a massacre of the men of rank[23] among their citizens, and prepared for defence.

Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 2. s. 3.

Means to punish this insulting barbarity were not likely to be wanting: at present a greater object

[23] Τῶν γνωρίμων.

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called Lysander. He sent information, at the same time to Lacedæmon and Deceleia, that he was ready to sail for Peiræus with two hundred triremes. The Lacedæmonian government determined upon a strong exertion, to put a speedy end to a war which had lasted, with scarcely any perfect intermission, twenty-six years. The Peloponnesian allies were summoned to arms, consisting now of all the states of the peninsula except Argos. The whole force of Laconia was at the same time ordered to march: the king, Pausanias, son of the regent who won the battle of Platæa, commanded in chief. With the powerful army thus assembled, Pausanias entered Attica: Agis joined him with his troops from Deceleia; and they fixed their head-quarters together in the celebrated gymnasium of Academia, close to Athens.

Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 2. s. 4.

The interval of leisure for the fleet, during the preparation for the march of the army, was employed by Lysander in an act of justice and charity, likely to bring great credit to himself, and popularity to the Lacedæmonian name. There were, wandering about Greece, some Melians and Æginetans, who, by accidental absence, or some other lucky chance, had escaped the general massacre of their people by the Athenians. These Lysander collected and reïnstated in their ilands. From Ægina he proceeded to Salamis, which he plundered; and then, with a hundred and fifty triremes, took his station at the mouth of the harbor of Peiræus, to prevent supplies to Athens by sea.

s. 5.

Without an ally, without a fleet, without stores, and blockaded by sea and land, the Athenians made no proposal to their victorious enemies: in sullen despondency they prepared, to the best of their ability, for defence, without a reasonable view but to

s. 6.

procrastinate their final doom, and certain to suffer in the interval. But the consideration, for the cotemporary historian dwells upon that point, that without even revenge for a pretence, in meer wantonness of power[24], they had doomed to massacre and extirpation so many Grecian states, whose only crime was alliance with those who had now obtained such a superiority in arms, incited to stubborn resistance, and deterred intreaty. Not that there was unanimity on this subject within the walls of Athens. On the contrary, the party which had established the government of the Fourhundred, of which a relic was still considerable, far from viewing the approach of the Lacedæmonians with the same apprehensions as the democratical chiefs, looked to it rather as what might afford them relief, and even be turned to their advantage. But hence the democratical party had only the more jealousy, not wholly an unreasonable jealousy, of any treaty to be managed under their direction; and, between the two, the moderate and worthy had difficulty to interfere at all in public affairs.

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Lys. adv. Agor. & Eratosth.

Meanwhile the operations of the besiegers tended merely to blockade: no assault was attempted: the purpose was to make the effect of famine sure; and before long it was severely felt by the Athenians. Not however till many had died of hunger did they even talk of capitulation. At length a deputation was sent to king Agis, for he appears to have remained alone to command the blockade, offering alliance offensive and defensive with Lacedæmon, which, in the language of Grecian politics, implied political subjection, but stipulating for the preservation of their fortifications and their harbor. Agis

Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 2. s. 7.

[24] Οὐ τιμωρούμενοι—ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἠδίκουν.

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gave for answer, 'that he had no power to treat; 'proposals must be addressed to the administration 'at Lacedæmon.' Ministers were then sent into Peloponnesus: but at Sellasia, on the border of Laconia, a haughty message from the ephors commanded their immediate return; informing them, 'that the terms they brought were known at La- 'cedæmon; and, if they desired peace, they must 'come better instructed.'

Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 2. s. 8.

This answer, communicated at Athens, filled the city with despair. Condemnation of the Athenian people to slavery was the least evil now expected from the revenge of a conquering enemy; and, before even another deputation could bring an answer from Lacedæmon, many must perish of hunger. In this nearly-threatening wreck of the commonwealth, the council of Areiopagus, still holding a dignified existence, tho with curtailed authority, endevored to mediate between the contending factions, and proposed to undertake that negotiation, for preserving the ruins of the falling state, which the enemy refused to enter into with one party, and the people pertinaciously refused to commit to the other. But popular jealousy prevented the salutary measure. The Many were taught to fear that the Areiopagus would join the oligarchal party, and make terms for their exclusive advantage. It was understood that the Lacedæmonians, among other things, required the demolition of the long walls for the space of ten furlongs. Archestratus, a member of the council, only declaring his opinion, in his place, that such a requisition ought not to prevent a treaty, which might save the wretched remains of the commonwealth, was imprisoned; and a decree of the people passed, forbidding even to consult about such an article.

Lys. adv. Eratosth. p. 428.

Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 2. s. 9.

Lys. adv. Eratosth. p. 412. & adv. Agor. p. 451,453.

Xen. ut sup.

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But, in holding out the requisition to demolish the walls, no assurance having been given that slavery should not be the common doom, the dread of this made the people so untractable, that the leading men seem to have been at a loss to know what safely they might even propose, in so pressing an exigency. Cleophon himself could no longer either command or appease the popular mind. His opponents used the opportunity for preferring a capital accusation against him. Examples of what might be done, by ably using critical emergencies, abounded in the annals of the Athenian government. Cleon, when nearly the despotic tyrant of Athens, had been fined; Hyperbolus banished by ostracism: Cleophon was condemned to death and executed. If Lysias, speaking as a pleader, should be trusted, a fraud, of most dangerous tendency, was used by his opponents: the reäl law not warranting a capital sentence, they made an interpolation in the code of Solon, in pursuance of which condemnation was pronounced. That some of the party adverse to Cleophon were not very scrupulous, we have sufficient assurance; but what credit may be due to the story told by Lysias, no information on the subject remaining from the cotemporary historian, seems not easy now to judge.

Lys. in Nicom. p. 849. ed. Reiske.

The execution of Cleophon however was evidently the removal of a principal obstacle to accommodation. Theramenes, becoming more a leading man, ventured to undertake that, if he might be commissioned to go to Lysander, as well as to Lacedæmon, he would bring certain information whether there was a serious intention to reduce the Athenian people to slavery, or whether the demolition of the walls was required only to insure political subjection. The people in assembly gave their

Xen. ut ant. & Lys. adv. Agor. p. 451.

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approbation, and Theramenes went; but it seems implied, by Xenophon, that he did not execute his commission with perfect good faith. He remained with Lysander more than three months. What his difficulties reälly were, is nowhere clearly indicated; but the appearance rather is, that he waited for the time when the total failure of provisions, among the Athenian people, should inforce patient attention to any advice, by which their immediate destruction might be obviated.

How the Athenians were inabled to support themselves so long, after mortality from famine was begun among them, the historian has omitted to mention: but some incidental information, remaining from Isocrates, considered together with Xenophon's account of the circumstances of the siege, in some degree explains it. The Peloponnesians, masters of Attica, and commanding the seas, trusted that they could starve the city into submission, without the great labor and expence of a contravallation, such as the circuit of Athens and Peiræus, and the walls connecting them, would require; and, more completely to deter the introduction of provisions, they denounced, by proclamation, immediate death against any who should be taken in the attempt. But the pressure of want, and the dread of captivity, coïnciding with the passion for distinction, strong in Athenian breasts, excited to daring action; and the Peloponnesian army could not completely guard the extensive circuit of the walls, nor the fleet, in all weathers, perfectly block the harbors. In these circumstances the captain of the Paralus (the same who had been sent by Conon with the news of the defeat at Aigospotami) distinguished himself by successful adventure. His name is unknown to us; but, through the incident that Iso-

Isocrat. adv. Callim. p. 264. t. 3.

crates afterward pleaded a cause for him, we learn that he, together with his brother, found means, not only to introduce provisions into the harbor of Peiræus, but sometimes even to intercept vessels bringing provisions for the Peloponnesian fleet; and that they were rewarded with crowns, and with the public thanks of the Athenian people, solemnly pronounced before the statues of the heroes, styled the eponymian, standing near the prytaneium, from whom the wards of Attica were named. SECT. V.

But notwithstanding these occasional supplies, want, and the apprehension of want, grew more and more pressing in Athens. Theramenes therefore, in the fourth month after his departure, trusting that the ferocity of the democratical spirit might be sufficiently tamed, ventured to return, without having performed what he had undertaken. To the anxious multitude, assembled in haste to learn the result of his tedious negotiation, he excused himself, by imputing his detention to Lysander; who dismissed him, he said, at last with a declaration, 'that he had no authority, either to grant terms, or 'to say what the Lacedæmonian government would 'require; and that application to any purpose could 'only be made to the ephors.' It was no longer time for hesitation. An embassy, consisting of ten persons, with Theramenes at the head, was immediately appointed to go to Lacedæmon, with the fullest authority to treat concerning the fate of Athens, and save the miserable remains of the commonwealth, if they could. Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 2. s. 11.

The sacred character of ambassadors procured free passage for Theramenes and his collegues, as far as Sellasia. There, as the former embassy, they were met by an officer from the ephors, who would not permit them to proceed, until they had given s. 12.

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satisfactory assurance of the fulness of their powers. On their arrival at Lacedæmon, an assembly of the deputies of the Lacedæmonian confederacy was held, in which the fate of Athens was to be decided. The Corinthian and Theban deputies contended vehemently, 'that no terms should be 'granted: the Athenian commonwealth, the ene-'my of the common liberties of Greece, so nearly 'successful in the horrid attempt to inslave or ex-'terminate the whole nation, ought to be annihilat-'ed: the people should be sold for slaves, and the 'site of the city should be made a sheepwalk, like 'the Crisæan plain.' Many of the other deputies supported these opinions: but the Lacedæmonians, whose administration was little subject to passionate counsels or hasty decision, seem to have predetermined otherwise. Deprived of its navy, and of the revenue and power derived from transmarine dependencies, Athens, under oligarchal government, they thought might be a valuable dependency of Lacedæmon; and perhaps the recollection of what had happened but a few years before, when almost all Peloponnesus had been united in war against them, might give to apprehend that, at some future period, they might want a balancing power against Corinth, Thebes, or Argos. They declared therefore, with ostentation of regard for the common welfare and glory of Greece, that it would not become the Peloponnesian confederacy, and least of all the Lacedæmonians, to reduce to slavery a Grecian people, to whom the nation was beholden for the most important services, in the greatest danger that ever threatened it. Accordingly, they proposed, and it was resolved, that the conditions, upon which the Athenians should be permitted to exist in civil freedom, should be these: 'That all ships

Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 2. Isocr. de Pace, p. 220. t. 2. & Plataic. p. 44. t. 3.

'of war should be surrendered, except twelve; 'that the long walls, and the fortifications of Pei- 'ræus, should be destroyed; that all exiles and 'fugitives should be restored to the rights of the 'city; that the Athenians should hold for friends 'and enemies all other people, as they were friends 'or enemies to Lacedæmon; that the Athenian 'forces should go wherever Lacedæmon might com- 'mand, by land and sea.' SECT. V.

With these terms Theramenes and his collegues hastened back to Athens. Already such numbers had perished for want, that to hold many days longer was impossible. The arrival of the ambassadors therefore was no sooner announced, than the people from all parts of the city crowded about them, in the most painful anxiety, lest an irresistible enemy should still have refused to treat, and no choice should remain but to die of hunger, or surrender to the mercy of those from whom they had scarcely a pretence to ask mercy. Information, that a treaty was concluded, gave, for the night, general relief. On the morrow an assembly of the people was held. Theramenes declared the terms, which, he said, were the best that himself and his collegues had been able to obtain, and such as, in his opinion, the people, in the present most unfortunate state of things, would do well to accept. A considerable body, nevertheless, even now, affirmed pertinaciously, that they would not consent to the demolition of the walls. A large majority however, yielding to the pressure of extreme want, carried a decree, ratifying the treaty concluded by their ambassadors. Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 2. s. 13.

The acceptance of the offered terms being notified to the besieging armament, Agis took possession of the walls, and Lysander entered the harbor of Pei- s. 14.

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5 May. B.C. 405. Ol. 93. 4. Ann. Thu.

ræus with his fleet. The demolition of the walls was a principal circumstance of triumph for the Peloponnesians. It was begun by the army, with much parade, to the sound of military music, and with an alacrity, says the cotemporary Athenian historian, natural to those who considered that day as the era of restored freedom to Greece. Notices were then sent to the exiles and fugitives, mostly men of the best families of Athens, to whom this sad reverse in the fortune of their country would alone give the means of returning to it, and recovering their property. Their presence was necessary toward the probable permanence of the next measure, the change of the government to an oligarchy.

Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 3. s. 1, 2.

The popular assembly was abolished, and the supreme authority was committed, for the present, to a council of thirty, among whom Theramenes found a place. They were directed to consider of a new form of political administration, such as Lacedæmon should approve, preserving the antient laws

s. 3.

and civil government of the commonwealth, as far as might consist with oligarchy.

Things being so far settled in Athens, Agis led away the Peloponnesian army, including the garrison of Deceleia; and all Attica, but Attica only, became once more the quiet possession of the Athenians. Lysander conducted the fleet to Samos. The people of that iland, after sustaining a siege for some time, capitulated; and the terms granted were milder than their conduct had intitled them to expect: they were permitted to depart in safety, whither they pleased; carrying, however, only the clothes they wore. The lands, houses, slaves, cattle, the whole iland in short, with all it contained, were given to their fellowcitizens of the aristocratical party. After having settled this busi-

ness, Lysander dismissed the ships of the allies, and with the Lacedæmonian squadron sailed for Laconia. SECT. V.

So ended the Peloponnesian war, in its twenty-seventh year; and so Lacedæmon, now in alliance with Persia, became again decidedly the leading power of Greece; and the aristocratical, or rather the oligarchal, triumphed over the democratical interest, in almost every commonwealth of the nation.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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